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Another Week of Waiting

The last week in April was again a time when the world was waiting for the invasion. There was little military activity in Italy or on the Russian front. In India the tide seemed to be setting against the Japanese invaders; in China, the defending army stiffened its resistance to the new Japanese push; in the Southwest Pacific, steady but unspectacular progress was made. Over Germany and the nearby portions of occupied Europe the aerial bombing rose to an unprecedented intensity; either it must have crippled Germany severely or—and this seems unlikely—the whole theory of aerial warfare will have to be abandoned as already technologically obsolete. The date of the invasion was still the best kept secret in the world; but every sign indicated that it could not now be far off.

MacArthur and Patton

Two American generals made statements last week. One man got himself into more trouble and the other got himself out of some—General MacArthur's announcement withdrawing his name was the most sensible word ever uttered about his presidential ambitions. There was never more than a thousand-to-one chance that he would be elected President, and even that remote likelihood was killed by his unhappy exchange of letters with the ineffable Representative Miller. His whole recent political attitude has been a bitter disappointment to many Americans who had previously admired him.

As for General Patton and his statement that America and Britain must rule the world together, it was revealing in several senses. First of all, the General evidently has no idea how the American people felt about his soldier-slapping career, or he would not go around making speeches, on any subject. Second, Eisenhower must regard him as a superlative soldier to overlook all the harm he does to morale, at home and abroad.

A Fateful Election

We commend earnestly to our readers the special section published with this issue on "A Congress to Win the War and the Peace," prepared by the editors in coöperation with the Union for Democratic Action. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole future of the world may depend to a large extent on the quality of the men who are elected to Congress next November. We have seen in the last few years how even a good President can be balked by a bad Congress. If we should happen to get a bad President, he too can be thwarted to a large extent by a good membership in the national legislature. Every member of the House and Senate who is seeking reëlection has made a record, and that record, as to 18 vitally important recent measures, is found in our pages this week. If all our regular readers, and the many thousands of additional persons who will see this issue, will study the special section carefully and act upon its information, the result can be of the highest value.

Price Control and Profits

The special-interest lobbies that are seeking to kill price control by attaching crippling amendments to the act, now up for renewal, are putting every last ounce of pressure into their drive. The labor and consumer counter-lobbies, in return, are taking the offensive. CIO Secretary James Carey presented unusually

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A Congress to Win the War and the Peace . . 643

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detailed and impressive evidence in his testimony before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on this subject a week or two ago. Carey added to the CIO's former demand for retention of present price-control laws a demand for a congressional investigation of the profits being made by those interests opposing price control. "I do not see how you can meet the pleas of the profiteers for more profits, or the pleas of the people for better price control, unless the actual facts are known to you and are made known to Congress," he told the Senate Committee. By way of example, he cited these figures:

Ten representative food chains have increased their profits two and a half times over prewar figures.

Fifteen clothing chains made four times their prewar profits in 1943.

Eight fruit and vegetable canners made four and a half times as much on their 1942 pack as they did before the war, and did even better in 1943.

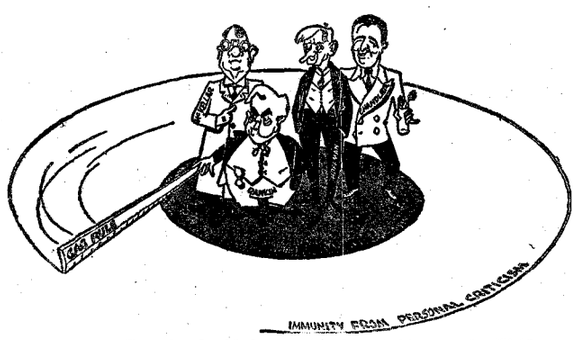
Large department stores are making five times as much on each dollar of sales as before the war, eight times as much in dollar profits.

President R. J. Thomas of the United Auto Workers sounded the same note before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee in his testimony on rent control, asserting that landlords are making more than ever before, even with present rent-control restrictions.

Continuation of the present price-control act for a short period is not enough. If we are to hold the line, the time has come to control profits as well, as the CIO has clearly demonstrated.

Rushing Through a Bad Bill

Strong efforts are being made to rush through the Senate a bill for terminating war contracts. Organized labor is opposing the bill on the ground that it is inadequate, incomplete and too hasty. Labor wants a bill creating a production-employment board in an office of war mobilization and adjustment. It should have power to set up voluntary goals for production, employment and investment. It should also, naturally, include authority to terminate war contracts, and to utilize or dispose of war property. There is good reason to believe that the people who want to rush the present bill through are afraid to let the American people know what is going on, or to debate this vital matter.



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Defense in Depth

Morse for Senator

Progressive Republicans in the state of Oregon have a chance to do an effective piece of work in the primary election on May 19, in which Wayne Morse is seeking the Republican nomination against the present incumbent, Senator Rufus Holman. Morse, former dean of the University of Oregon Law School and public member of the War Labor Board, is one of the outstanding progressives of the whole country. As for Senator Holman, if we had space to print his full record, we do not believe anyone who read it would vote for him again for any office whatever. He was right only five times on eighteen crucial recent measures in the Senate. He has been mixed up with all sorts of dubious people—a job-lot of isolationists, America Firsters, monetary cranks and others. He reprinted in The Congressional Record with approval a pamphlet put out by a follower of Oswald Mosley, the British fascist, the author of the pamphlet being now in jail on a charge of treason. Holman voted against the fifty-destroyer deal, Lend-Lease and the revision of the Neutrality Act. He has recommended a stalemate in the war and has been bitterly hostile to trade unions. He would like to stop all immigration and to take away the citizenship of people born in this country of Japanese, German or Italian ancestry. He has been praised by William Dudley Pelley, Gerald Winrod, Father Coughlin, Scribner's Commentator, Leon de Aryan and Senator Robert Reynolds. That ought to be enough for anybody.

The Obstructionists at Work

Three of the worst obstructionists in Congress were in the news last week. Martin Dies attempted to subpoena all the financial records of the Political Action Committee of the CIO. The PAC, arguing sensibly that Dies has no mandate from Congress to investigate it, refused to surrender these records. It has already been investigated by the Department of Justice and given a clean bill of health.

The other activity involved John Rankin of Mississippi and Clare Hoffman of Michigan. These gentry have decided not to permit anybody who is smeared by the obstructionists to make a reply and have that reply printed in The Congressional Record. They refused consent to have Walter Winchell's answer to Dies's attack on him inserted, although the Dies attack itself was already there. They moved to have stricken out a defense of himself by John Roy Carlson, author of "Under Cover." They refused for 24 hours to let Representative Arthur Klein deliver a speech in defense of Carlson, though later they abandoned this effort be-

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cause they saw that this was a game at which two could play. Here is the most brazen attack on fair debate and free speech in a long time. We are sorry that it passed unnoticed at the convention of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, meeting in New York, although the publishers set up their usual straw man of "interference with a free press by the Roosevelt administration," and then, as usual, knocked it over again.

Frank Knox

Frank Knox, the late Secretary of the Navy, was a man who had grown while in office. A few years ago, he was a fairly simple-minded economic royalist, like dozens of other prosperous newspaper publishers in the United States, although he was a pretty good newspaper man into the bargain. As Secretary of the Navy he was at first, like nearly all occupants of that office, a good deal of a figurehead. Before long, however, he learned his way around; and he showed blunt common sense and driving force that have been of great value. Under him, the navy has had the greatest expansion in the shortest time ever witnessed in this or any other country, and it stands today as the most powerful fleet ever created.

MacArthur and the Censorship

Before General MacArthur withdrew from the presidential race, Harper's Magazine accepted an article about him, written by a correspondent who for eighteen months had been accredited to the General's headquarters. In accordance with established procedure, Harper's submitted the article to the army censorship; and publication was prohibited. This was not because it contained military information of value to the enemy—such information could easily have been stricken out; it was because the article "undermines the confidence of this country, Australia and particularly the troops in that theatre, in their commander and his strategic and tactical plans." This, the army said, "would be of great value to the Axis and damaging to General MacArthur's very difficult campaign in the Southwest Pacific."

Neither Harper's nor any other American periodical, of course, wants to print material which aids the enemy; but this army policy raises some extremely serious questions. Is one to criticize no commander, no matter how incompetent he might be, no matter if he were losing the war? (This hypothetical question of course does not apply to General MacArthur.) Obviously, such a position is untenable. Within the past few days, the army has told its censors throughout the world that they must not delete criticism from dispatches. This is welcome news, and we hope the new order will be carried out even if a manuscript discusses an important officer who—like Commander Stassen of the navy, for example—is a candidate for high office.

Dewey Goes Near the Water

IN HIS SPEECH LAST WEEK before the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, Governor Dewey did more than hang his candidate's clothes on a hickory limb. He discussed some issues of the peace and went near the water—only a few faltering steps, to be sure, but closer than he has been ever before.

Of the three things that stand out in the Dewey speech, the most immediate is the olive-branch it extends to the Wendell Willkie group in the Republican Party. He came out for "a structure of peace backed by adequate force to prevent future wars" to be organized "in coöperation with other nations." This was not exactly calculated to bring cheers from the die-hard chauvinists of the Chicago Tribune camp. He spoke in cordial, if cautious, terms of Russia, warning that "if after this war we relapse into the old suspicions, the future is indeed dark." He stated the obvious truth that "our political dissimilarities from Russia need not be the source of friction if we seek and find the many ways in which we can work to a common end." Which is all to the good, especially since—in the case of someone as sensitive to the winds of opinion as Dewey is—it may indicate not only that there are more votes to be plucked by a pro-coalition than by an anti-coalition policy, but also that events have moved too far to allow of any attitude toward the USSR less friendly than this.

The second thing notable about Dewey's speech was the analysis he offered of the failure of World Peace I, and of the dangers to peace now. "The central error of our course in 1919 was the assumption that words could create peace." And again, "those who drafted the treaty were tired war leaders." The assumption here is that tired men are men of words, and younger men are men of action. Governor Dewey is, we suspect, less interested in the historical analysis of the failure of Versailles than in laying the basis for his coming campaign against Roosevelt, using the Wilson image to blast him. At an earlier point in the speech he blames the President for acting rather than talking, and asks to what extent foreign affairs are "being handled privately by the President."

This may be smart politics, but is scarcely a valid analysis. A far more valid analysis would have emphasized the martyrdom of Wilson and his treaty, which was partially due to a partisan group in the Senate that put politics ahead of peace; the failure of America to adhere to the League; the split that developed between the capitalist world and Russia, and the use Hitler made of that split; the fear that the Western powers felt of stopping Hitler because it might mean the victory of Russian socialism; the failure of old, smug and tired men in control of economic power to use their resources to the full of productive

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capacity. This and much more Dewey could have said were he serious in his intention of probing to the roots of the failure of the peace.

And because he blurs the causes, he muffs the remedies. Surely it is too late in the world's history to hope for anything from the alliance system taken alone, or to divide the coalition into two groups. Yet that is exactly what Dewey does when he speaks of a "durable cohesion between Great Britain and ourselves together, I hope, with Russia and China." The difference he assigns in status to Britain and to Russia and China is subtly suggested, yet it is not any the more valid for that reason. You cannot live permanently in a world of alliances and at the same time in a United Nations world. The first will wreck the second, or the second will make the first unnecessary.

The most important question about Governor Dewey's new internationalism is: assuming he were elected President, how much of it would he be able to put into practice? Americans still remember the promise made by 31 distinguished Republicans in 1920 that a vote for Warren G. Harding was a vote for internationalism, and the bumbling commitment of that bumbling candidate to the same effect. But in fact, it turned out that the ruling forces in the Republican Party had a different notion. So far as we can see, they are the same forces today. Do they still hold that different notion? If not, let them come forward and say so.

Montgomery Ward's War

THE SPECTACLE of the chairman of a great corporation being carried kicking from his office by United States soldiers has been hailed as a demonstration of heroism by anti-administration commentators. It seems to us more like the behavior of an angry baby than like that of a hero. This is not the time for an American citizen to defy American soldiers acting under orders, or even to occupy their energies. Mr. Sewell Avery of Montgomery Ward and Company has been carrying on a private war against the President of the United States while we are engaged against a deadly enemy, and must be judged accordingly.

And what was the great cause for which Mr. Sewell Avery was contending? The "right" to disobey the National Labor Relations Act and the war labor authorities, acting under congressional authorization. Over a year ago a union in Montgomery Ward demonstrated in an NLRB election that it comprised a majority of the employees, and the management was therefore, under the law, directed to sign a contract with it. Mr. Avery at first refused because the contract contained the "maintenance-of-membership" clause, but finally did so, as he says, "under duress" because of intervention by the President.

When the contract expired, Mr. Avery refused to bargain with the union leaders concerning its renewal, and unilaterally abrogated its provisions. His excuse was the allegation that the union no longer represented a majority of the employees. This left the corporation without regularized labor regulations and in danger of stoppage through strike. The War Labor Board unanimously (employer members included) ordered the employer to continue the conditions of the contract until the NLRB could determine the facts concerning his allegation by a new election, and instructed the union to appeal to the NLRB for that election. The union obeyed; Mr. Avery disobeyed. The Board then referred the dispute to the President, for appropriate action.

The War Labor Board has been compelled to ask for presidential intervention in only seven cases out of more than 6,000 disputes it has handled, two of them involving Montgomery Ward. It did so in this case, as the law directs it to do, because there was a dispute which might seriously have interrupted the war effort. Montgomery Ward manufactures military and agricultural supplies as well as being a great mail-order house. And the spectacle of leaving a contumacious and defiant employer unchecked would have had a bad effect on labor morale. President Roosevelt broke John L. Lewis' revolt against the War Labor Board by taking over the mines and offering protection to all miners who would work contrary to the union's orders. He could do no less with a revolting employer.

There are no issues between Mr. Avery and the government which cannot and should not be settled by appeal to the courts on his part. Indeed, he has previously appealed over the very issue of "maintenance of membership." Willingness to stir up industrial strife and political factionalism at this moment in the nation's fortunes speaks for itself. The most charitable adjective which may be applied to such behavior is to call it infantile.

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Reviving a Corpse in Italy

IN HIS ADDRESS to the House of Commons on February 22, Mr. Churchill let the cat out of the bag when he stated that he did not know whether another, more broadly based, Italian government would be as helpful to the Allies as the present one. Perhaps he meant that it might be a government which would try to make its position good with the Italian people by resisting, as much as it dared, the demands made on them in the interests of the Allied armies.

If one needs an interpretation of Mr. Churchill's statement, one may find it in a dispatch from London to The Chicago Daily News by Helen Kirkpatrick. By "well informed but unofficial circles," which as a rule are civil servants entrusted with the task of furnishing newspapermen with semi-official "handouts," she was told that

> we must continue to deal with our former enemies—particularly those who, *because of their connection with fascism, are not very popular with the bulk of the population*—in order to make certain that stiff armistice terms will be observed. Marshal Badoglio signed both the original armistice and the second long-range one, and so long as he is in office there can be no evading its terms. The second and long-range armistice terms never have been published owing to a request from Badoglio. If they were, he claims, he would be hounded from office tomorrow by the Italian people. If non-Fascists, like Count Carlo Sforza and others, whose records are unimpeachable, were in office, they would ask for things which we might not be prepared to grant. *What we need is to find men "with the same Fascist background who cannot ask favors of us because they have not been our ideological friends."* (Italics mine.)

In plain words, no other man in Italy could be as "helpful"—that is, as servile—as Badoglio, who has forfeited his prestige and therefore is in no position ever to disobey Anglo-Saxon orders. By merely threatening him with their disfavor, his masters will always be in a position to squeeze from him anything they may deem expedient.

This would all be very well if 45,000,000 Italians were horses or motor cars and not men. As a matter of fact, they are men. Everybody in Italy realizes that the King and Badoglio have become Anglo-Saxon rubber-stamps in southern Italy, just as Mussolini has become a German rubber-stamp in northern Italy. The Anglo-Saxon protectorate has added new reasons for hatred and contempt to those which already existed.

Until the end of March it seemed that the Allied political and military leaders were hoping to induce the King and his son to abdicate so that a regency could be established under Badoglio on behalf of the grandson of the present King, a seven-year-old boy. The Italians would then have been expected to hold their peace for a dozen years. When the boy became of age, they would know whether he had inherited the overflowing intelligence of his father, the present Crown Prince, and the heroic will power and moral integrity of his grandfather, the present King.

But during the last few weeks a new development has come about. The leader of the Italian Stalinists rushed from Moscow to Naples, via Algiers, where he could get the blessing of the Anglo-American authorities, and as soon as he arrived in Naples he instructed his comrades to give up demanding the abdication of the King or his son. Now it is arranged that the King will remain where he is until the Allied armies enter the city of Rome. At this time he will take something like a leave of absence, and his son will act as his deputy. This has cleared the way for a "democratic" set-up, that is, a certain number of anti-Fascist politicians have joined the Badoglio government.

I was brought up in Italy and lived there until I was 52 years old. I have devoted 50 years of my life to Italian history. Since I left Italy in 1925 I have done all I possibly could to keep informed on conditions there. I think, therefore, that my opinions on Italy may have a greater chance of proving correct than those of British and American "career boys" who went to Italy knowing nothing about the country, and have left knowing only cocktails, beach parties and perhaps one or two bedrooms of Roman nobility. On the other hand, I have become an American citizen, and as such I could not aspire to any role in post-Fascist Italy, even if my age did not tell me that I have to think of something more serious than political ambitions. I am entitled, therefore, to state that in dealing with the Italian problem I am not prompted by any personal prepossessions. I feel duty-bound to warn my American fellow citizens against the moral disaster we are courting.

Let us make no mistake. The Badoglio regime, with or without the King, with or without his son, with or without a regency, with or without Stalin's blessing, is a moral corpse that cannot be revived.

As long as the Allied armies are in southern Italy it will be possible to manipulate there more or less artificial contrivances, with or without the help of Comrade Stalin. But southern Italy is economically, socially and politically the least developed part of the peninsula; the heart and brains of Italy are in the north. The farther the Allied armies proceed toward the north, the greater difficulties they will have to confront. In northern Italy the bulk of the population has become Republican, and even more strongly than in southern Italy all patriots demand that the King get out of the way and that he and his stupid and dissolute and no

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less ardently Fascist son decamp together. Italian patriots in northern Italy are fighting desperately against the Germans today. They will not swallow Anglo-Saxon Quislings tomorrow.

W. H. Stoneman, who is one of the best informed journalists on Italian conditions and has lately been for several months in southern Italy, reports as follows:

> Lacking a Gallup Poll of Italian naval officers on the subject whether the Italian fleet is loyal to the House of Savoy and might be otherwise to any other regime, there is no way of proving whether the theory is true or false. First-hand experience with the rank and file of several Italian naval establishments during recent months indicates that the King has completely lost face with most sailors. . . . Hard-working Italian sailors, to judge by our conversations with them, regarded the King as Fascist. (The Chicago Daily News, April 14.)

Yet the House of Savoy claims to have its stanchest supporters precisely in the army and navy. Imagine the attitude of the workers in Milan and Turin!

In The (London) Times, January 22, we read:

> It is questionable whether the amount of support which is found for the King in southern Italy today would suffice to keep him on the throne were it not for the recognition and support which he receives from the Allies. If this be the case in the south, where feeling for the monarchy as an institution is stronger than elsewhere in Italy, how much more forceful will opinion be in the industrial cities of the north, with their working-class populations and with a strong Republican tradition? Such evolution as is possible now in southern Italy is a tiny matter when compared with what will result later when the powerful forces in the northern cities come into play. The thoughts of all politically anxious Italians are inevitably directed forward to the time when the whole of their country will be liberated not only from the German incubus but from the restraining influence of the Allied armies.

As for the Crown Prince, he "has few backers except among the corps of officers." The London Times, as far as I know, never has been a "red" paper, nor is Dr. Henry F. Grady, formerly teacher at the University of California and today top-ranking official of the Allied Control Commission in Italy, a radical. In an interview with The San Francisco Chronicle of April 1, he stated that "The King is not popular. . . . There is complete unanimity among the people of occupied [*i. e.*, northern, German-controlled] Italy that they want him out. Badoglio has inherited some of the unpopularity of the King. I think he is fast losing popularity."

Had Dr. Grady been conversant with Italian conditions before he went to Italy he would have known that for a long time Badoglio's popularity has had no deeper roots in Italy than that of the King. No Italian was ever ignorant of the fact that, from 1936, Badoglio was the chief of the Italian armed forces and therefore responsible no less than the King and Mussolini for Fascist military inefficiency in the present war. Everybody in Italy knows that in 1939, when Mussolini and the King agreed to the fatal alliance with Hitler, Badoglio was still chief of the Italian armed forces. He was no less responsible for that alliance than Mussolini or the King. In May, 1940, when Mussolini launched his criminal attack on France and England, Badoglio was still chief of the Italian armed forces. He did not resign. He hoped that the coup would succeed. It was under him that the even more criminal attack on Greece in October, 1940, was planned. He resigned in December of that year, not because he had condemned the attack on Greece, but because he realized that the attack was heading for disaster. A rat is still a rat, even after it has left a sinking ship. No less than the King, Badoglio is responsible for an armistice whose apparently ruinous and dishonorable terms have to be kept secret. He and the King remind the Italians of that *condottiere* of the fifteenth century who used to say: "Let us escape from harm; as for the shame, never mind; we will escape from that too."

Mussolini has established a Fascist republic in northern Italy. He knows that most Italians have become republican. He has endeavored to take the wind out of his opponents' sails, to mix up their ideas and to weaken their hostility against him. No one will be taken in by Mussolini's republic.

But while a royal army no longer existed in Italy last September, a new army is now being organized with the help of America and Britain. The new Badoglio army will have no weapons for a foreign war (if the announcement that Germany, Italy and Japan shall be disarmed and kept disarmed has any meaning), but evidently it will be provided by American and British firms with plenty of machine guns, sufficient for civil war. When the new army has been built up, Badoglio and the "King's men" will presumably be in a position to force upon the Italian people the bankrupt authority of the Royal House. Will the task of the army, reorganized under the old professional soldiers, be one of suppressing republican movements in northern Italy when German control breaks down there? What will become the position of the United States—the country of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and Wilson? Will our armies enter Florence, Milan, Turin and Venice, to aid and abet Badoglio in reëstablishing the monarchy after it has been abolished by Mussolini?

The Allied political and military leaders are fighting two different wars in Italy: one against Hitler and Mussolini on the battlefield, and the other against the Italian Republic behind the fighting front. They cannot expect the Italian liberals to coöperate with them. The Italian liberals—I mean those who are liberal in dead earnest and not for fun—may bow before superior strength, but they will never coöperate. An atmosphere of passive resistance analogous to that which was the most deadly foe of fascism in Italy, will asphyxiate any

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Quislings of the Allies. If America and Britain seek friends in Italy, that is one thing. If they need slaves, that is another. They cannot have at the same time friends and slaves.

It seems that somebody in Washington has at last begun to realize what every sensible man was in a position to guess a long while ago. On April 11 we were allowed, through Mr. Drew Pearson, to know what "well informed but unofficial circles" think about the Italian situation:

> Most people don't realize it, but Italian civilians are simply not aiding the Allies. This is in contrast with the early days of Allied invasion when civilians penetrated the German lines and were an extremely important factor in the Allied advance. In fact, some experts believe that Naples might have held out a month longer than it did if Italian youth had not slipped over to the American lines at night to get ammunition and then returned to sabotage and harass the Nazis in the rear. They came literally begging for hand grenades to throw at the Nazis. Today this anti-Nazi hostility is over and we are getting little help from Italian civilians. Furthermore, there is growing restlessness against the Allies in southern Italy.

Under the pressure of the new Stalinist policy, most of the liberal parties in Italy have now joined the government; but the trouble is still not over. Even among the Stalinists themselves, there must be some who will not approve of what is being done. As for the liberals, those who have joined hands with Badoglio must not only endorse his responsibility for the humiliation that is still apparently waiting in the secret armistice terms, but they will have to follow him if there is bloody repression of the republican movement in northern Italy. After making so much fuss in demanding, for moral reasons, the abdication of the King, they now agree to serve under him until the occupation of Rome.

What are the Allies driving at in Italy? They already have morally and politically destroyed the King and Badoglio. When they succeeded in getting prominent anti-Fascist politicians to join the Badoglio cabinet, they prevented any alternative government from becoming possible. It seems almost as if they wanted to reach precisely this result, so as to be able to announce that the Italians are incapable of setting up a free regime, that there can be for them no question of self-government. They needed a Mussolini, and they still need another Mussolini. Of course, a Mussolini "as helpful to the Allies as the present dispensation," a pro-Ally instead of a pro-German Mussolini.

GAETANO SALVEMINI

Pew of Pennsylvania

THE MOST IMPORTANT MOMENT, up to now, in the political career of Joseph Newton Pew Jr. came four years ago, while he was in the bathtub. In addition to the soap, he held in his hand the 72 votes of Pennsylvania at the Republican National Convention. As he splashed about happily, the convention reached its fifth ballot, when Pennsylvania was to withdraw its votes from its favorite son, Governor Arthur H. James, and deposit them to the account of Robert A. Taft. That was scheduled to start the Taft landslide and stop Wendell Willkie.

But the Pennsylvania delegation would not switch without direct orders from Boss Joe Pew, who had paid an estimated $2,000,000 in campaign contributions for the privilege of giving them. From the convention hall in Philadelphia, the Taft managers frantically tried to reach Pew at his home on the Main Line. The butler told them the master was at his bath and could not be disturbed.

On the sixth ballot the absence of Pew was responsible for the most thumping fiasco in the history of Pennsylvania politics. Having received no word from the boss, the delegation was confused when its turn to vote came, and split, 29 of its members remaining faithful to Pew and James, the other 43 bolting to Willkie. Ignoring the split, former Senator David A. Reed rushed breathlessly to the floor and announced all 72 votes for Willkie. It was too late; the Willkie bandwagon was already far down the road, and Joe Pew, by proxy, had climbed aboard too late to do anything but look foolish.

The 1940 incident illustrates both the strength and weakness, at that time, of the latest Republican boss of Pennsylvania. Pew had power, because he bought it. But he did not know how to use it. Unlike his unhallowed predecessors, Quay, Penrose and Vare, he was frankly an amateur in politics. He was visibly more at home in the oil fields of Texas than in the legendary smoke-filled rooms of political conventions. In fact, he had been to only one convention and that, in 1936, was merely the Republican counterpart of a journey to Mecca, for it was his first open venture into politics.

Four years have taught Joe Pew much. They have also increased his political power. This year he was again the leader of the "stop Willkie" forces in the Republican Party—and he stopped him. Once again he owns Pennsylvania's votes at the convention. Whatever else may happen, Joe Pew will not be caught in the bathtub again.

The story of this unsmiling and humorless business man, who has become a political power although he obviously does not have much feeling for politics, is

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the story of the complete and utter Roosevelt-hater. For although his principal function in party politics thus far has been akin to that of the cash register on "Information Please," it is not contributions alone that have made Pew of Pennsylvania so significant a Republican figure. After all, there are other considerable financial angels, like the Mellons, the du-Ponts and Ernest T. Weir. But not even one of these is half the Roosevelt-hater that Joe Pew is.

His rabid antipathy to the New Deal and all its works, his cold rage when he mentions the subject, and the lengths to which he and his clan have gone to fight it, all are symptoms of the economic royalist and unreconstructed individualist of 1933 vintage. Yet Joe Pew supported Roosevelt in 1932, even though the rest of Pennsylvania continued to vote for Hoover.

Why Pew changed his mind about Roosevelt and how he entered politics is best told in his own words:

> I went to Washington in 1933 to help draft the NRA petroleum code. We were opposed to price-fixing. We got up our code and sent it to the White House. It had no price-fixing in it. But it came back with a price-fixing clause, in the President's own handwriting. His own handwriting.
>
> I blew up. I would have no part of it. It obviously was a trap baited with their own greed. It was illegal. It was only intended to make them bow to the master or go to the hoosegow, which they found out later was the case.
>
> So I went to the Republican Party, started work running errands, and that's all I have been doing since.

The millionaire errand-boy can afford to devote most of his time to politics because the oil business, which he said would never survive the New Deal, has done pretty well in the past ten years. It has enabled him to become an influential publisher, a radio sponsor, a farm-bloc spokesman and a shipping magnate, as well as one of the "four-year locusts" of Republican politics, mentioned by Governor Wills of Vermont.

The Sun Oil Company, which was left to his three sons and two daughters by Joseph Newton Pew Sr. when he died in 1912, has since grown into a $150,000,000 corporation, the fifteenth largest oil company in the United States. It has extensive fields in Texas, refineries at Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania, and Toledo, and in addition it owns 100 percent of the Sun Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, at Chester, Pennsylvania. The thriving oil company and the booming shipyard are both purely family affairs.

The Sun shipyard is operated by the other branch of the Pew dynasty, the descendants of Thomas Pew, Joe's uncle, who died in 1891. John G. Pew, the twin brother of J. Edgar Pew, is president of Sun Ship, and each of the brothers has two sons who are also associated with the yards.

The Pew dynasty, which had its beginnings in the Pennsylvania oil boom at Titusville in 1859, owes its present state of affluence and power largely to the efforts of 57-year-old Joe Pew, the boss of Pennsylvania. It was Joe who, after learning the oil business by bringing in wells and laying pipe in 1916, suggested that Sun Oil establish its own shipyard to build tankers. He is now chairman of the board of Sun Ship as well as vice-president of Sun Oil.

All went well with the family fortunes until the 1929 stock-market crash. As a result of a few lean years, Joe, the spokesman for the dynasty, "fell for" Franklin D. Roosevelt, as he describes it, in 1932. He was quickly disillusioned by the harrowing experience with the oil code, and began pouring the Pew money into the surprised and grateful GOP.

But this was only the start of Joe Pew's anti-New Deal crusade. In 1936, very quietly, he bought up control of the Chilton Company of Philadelphia, a large publisher of trade magazines. Subscribers to Iron Age, Hardware Age, Dry Goods Economist, Automobile Trade Journal, and Jewelers' Circular found themselves reading powerful political articles, pro-Landon and anti-Roosevelt, instead of the usual car loadings, production figures and trade gossip.

A few months before, Pew had bought the venerable Farm Journal, published in Philadelphia, and in 1936 that rural organ, with its 1,000,000 circulation, erupted into a series of polls showing how safe the farm vote was for Landon. Unlike The Literary Digest, which had been forced to quit the forecasting business, The Farm Journal was not dismayed by its lack of accuracy, and with the aid of Pew's money it not only continued to function but soon absorbed another magazine, The Farmer's Wife.

Joe Pew has also taken a flyer into newspaper publishing. The Philadelphia Evening Ledger, last relic of the journalistic empire of Cyrus H. K. Curtis, was supported by Pew money for many months before it expired two years ago, and paid its debt by long and fulsome articles devoted to Pew and his political thoughts. Recently, Joe Pew bought The Pathfinder, another magazine of large rural circulation, and it has already taken up the cudgels for free enterprise and Republicanism.

As a reward for his generosity and editorial support, the Republican machine politicians of Pennsylvania elected Pew a delegate-at-large to the 1936 convention in Cleveland. It was his first open participation in politics, and he went back to Philadelphia a victim of the political bug. In 1938 Joe Pew won his first victory against the New Deal. From 1934 to 1938, rock-ribbed Republican Pennsylvania had been fortunate enough to have a liberal Democratic administration, the first since the Civil War. This was the so-called "Little New Deal" of Governor George H. Earle. Unhappily, the Democrats began quarreling among themselves over unaccustomed spoils, and a series of grand-jury investigations sent the "Little New Deal" to cover. In this return to normalcy, virtually any Republican

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would have won in 1938. Joe Pew picked an obscure judge from the coal regions, Arthur "Buttonshoes" James, and elected him by the largest majority in the state's history.

Not satisfied with making the self-proclaimed "breaker boy" Governor, Pew soon began calling James the ideal type for the presidential nomination. In 1940, as the Republican convention opened, Pew declared he was for James for President "first and last" and "until hell freezes over," and predicted James's nomination. But hell froze over on the sixth ballot, while Pew was still in the tub.

Such political ineptitude no longer characterizes Pew. He has profited by experience, and in 1944 gives an extremely creditable performance not only as a business man who has become a politician, but increasingly as a man who intends to make a business of politics. This in spite of a natural aversion to the free and easy atmosphere of the political trade.

Next to Roosevelt, Joe Pew dislikes Willkie most in politics. Yet after he had, much to his surprise, found himself on the Willkie bandwagon in 1940, Pew turned to for the GOP nominee with such anti-Roosevelt zeal that he was accused by Edward J. Flynn, then Democratic National Chairman, of having raised a $2,000,000 slush fund "to buy Pennsylvania for Willkie." Whatever the truth of Flynn's charge, Pew's efforts were vain, for Roosevelt carried Pennsylvania. In any event, it was not Willkie-love but Roosevelt-hate that inspired Joe Pew.

After the presidential election, Pew remained silent for a full year, supervising his gasoline pipe lines and listening to Lowell Thomas, the voice of Blue Sunoco. Then, unable to hold still any longer, he made a surprise appearance before a Young Republican convention in Harrisburg. The 1940 election was still on his mind, and his icy wrath gave him unprecedented articulateness. He bitterly assailed both 1940 candidates, calling them "both gentlemen of magnificent personality, magnetism, versatility and charm—in short, with 'it' to the *n*th degree." Darkly, he added, "The stark tragedy of it all!"

Less than two months before Pearl Harbor, Joe Pew spoke of "130,000,000 Americans, sadly disillusioned, inclined to be cynical" and with "certain basic loyalties ruinously weakened" by the ravages of the New Deal. He warned against too much democracy. "When democracy goes on the march," he said, "it marches on a road that leads through chaos and revolution, to dictatorship and totalitarianism. If we follow that road to its bitter end, we will find ourselves defeated, no matter how brilliant may have been the victories on the battlefield."

If war came, Joe Pew said, he foresaw the same thing happening to the United States that happened in France. "We may well tremble for our own country if we are presently brought face to face with the supreme crisis," he declared. He then called upon the people of the United States, and particularly upon the Republican Party, to join in a war of liberation—"yes, a war of liberation on the home front."

Because of the wartime profits of Sun Oil and Sun Ship, Joe Pew has recovered somewhat from his 1941 malaise. But he has not changed his mind about the New Deal. He still feels as he did in 1940 when he declared flatly that "it is inconceivable that this country as a republic can survive under another New Deal administration." He still wants to do what Penrose did in 1920, what Vare did in 1928, and what Pew failed to do in 1940—name the next Republican President of the United States. But his *modus operandi* has changed in the past four years. He is no longer content to be a bag-man. He is learning to use his power. Some of his friends say Pew may get to be Secretary of the Treasury, like that other Pennsylvania oil man, Andy Mellon.

A few months ago, Pew elected as Mayor of Philadelphia a routine politician, Bernard Samuel. Aided by former Senator Joseph R. Grundy, the 80-year-old "king of the lobbyists" and the feudal monarch of Bristol, Pennsylvania, Pew is trying to make his impress on the Republican National Committee. At the Chicago meeting some time ago, Grundy's man Friday, G. Mason Owlett, the national committeeman from Pennsylvania, offered a resolution assailing "unctuous disciples of a world league in which all trade barriers will be down." Grundy is a textile manufacturer who favors extremely high tariffs.

Pew is so close an associate of Grundy that the Republican organization in Pennsylvania is called the Pew-Grundy machine. But at the same time, Pew is currently making extensive preparations to eliminate Grundy by taking over Owlett's place on the national committee. As such he would have the ear of the Republican President who, he is dead certain, will be elected in 1944.

Yet Joe Pew denies he is a politician. "I do not think politically," he says. "I think it's just a shame to be unreasonably critical of anything or anybody." He was not speaking about the New Deal.

Washington POTOMACUS

Defeat

On a train in Texas German prisoners eat
With white American soldiers, seat by seat,
While black American soldiers sit apart,
The white men eating meat, the black men heart.
Now, with that other war a century done,
Not the live North but the dead South has won,
Not yet a riven nation comes awake.
Whom are we fighting this time, for God's sake?
Mark well the token of the separate seat.
It is again ourselves whom we defeat.

WITTER BYNNER

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Washington Notes

Mostly About China

ABOUT A YEAR AGO I had a talk with a responsible government official about the anti-democratic movement in China. He knew a great deal about China and he knew nearly all of the high Chinese officials. He was deeply pessimistic. He believed that the government was moving to the right, ruthlessly suppressing every sign of liberalism. I asked this official what the policy of an American newspaper writer should be in such a situation involving an ally in time of war. "Tell the truth," he replied at once.

Since that time a number of American writers have attempted to tell the truth about the domestic situation in China, about the heavy censorship of all publications, the anti-democratic forces at work in the schools and among the Chinese youth, the disregard of the tragedy of the poor, the hostility between Chungking and the Chinese communists. The first reaction in Chinese government circles was one of open anger and indignation.

But the truth about China continued to seep into some sections of the American press. Then came dispatches from China replying to the criticisms. Foreign correspondents at Chungking were able to write on subjects previously taboo. On April 13, over a dispatch from Chungking, The New York Times carried the following headline: "Chungking Denies Curb on Students; Officials Say Criticisms Are Based on Poor Translation of Chinese Regulation." On April 18 The Times used this headline over a story from its Chungking correspondent: "China Is Nettled As Criticism Grows; Anti-Democratic Vestiges Are Explained As Result of Military Control." Then on April 23: "Democracy Urged by Some in China; One Kuomintang Member Is Confident Young People Are Able to Lead Now; Wide Corruption Charged; Land Owners Said to Have Taken Advantage of War to Increase 'Power for Evil'."

It is believed here that liberal forces in China have been strengthened by the American criticisms of Chinese reactionaries. No revolution, of course, has been brought about or will be brought about, but the fact that a growing number of Chinese know that the American people are aware of their difficulties and sympathetic toward their attempts at democracy will make the fight somewhat easier.

Our government has committed itself to the support of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, at least for the time being, but it is not blind to the shortcomings of his government. It knows that if China is to be a force for peace after the war, her government must rest upon a much wider and firmer base than it does today. The future must bring Americans and Chinese closer together if peace and security as to be obtained in the Pacific: the truth is one instrument the two countries have to bring about closer relations.

When the announcement was made that Vice President Wallace would go to China on a good-will mission for President Roosevelt, the anti-Wallace press was jubilant. He is being ditched, was the glad cry. The Chief is sending him out of the country during the convention.

Now even Frank R. Kent seems to be convinced that Mr. Wallace is not being ditched. I have made several careful inquiries. I am confident that the President now intends to insist upon Henry A. Wallace as his running mate again this year. The Vice President will be back in the United States prior to the opening of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago on July 19.

The party organization is against Mr. Wallace. Most of the organization leaders would like to have Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn as the vice-presidential nominee this year. But the President is more devoted to the Vice President than he is to the Speaker. He knows that he has had more loyal support from Wallace than from Rayburn. Because the party organization knows that it cannot win this year without Mr. Roosevelt, his authority at the convention will be unchallenged. There will be attempts to block the renomination of Mr. Wallace, but if the President insists, he will have his way.

Many persons here, including some on the White House staff, say that President Roosevelt will not allow himself to be nominated for a fourth term. To me, such talk seems silly. If the President had any real notion of stepping down he would attempt to groom someone to take his place. He has not done so. It would be a virtual impossibility for his party to win without him. FDR is still a good party man. He wants the Democrats to win in November. They cannot win without his name at the head of the ticket. He wants his ideas to prevail in the winning of the war and the making of the peace.

The President may continue to talk about retiring. But if he should announce his determination to retire, his party would draft him.

Notes: Attempts to abolish the two-thirds treaty-ratification rule will not succeed unless public opinion becomes a hundred times more vocal on the subject than it has been. Several resolutions calling for a constitutional amendment to end the rule are pending in the House and Senate. But as of today they will get nowhere. Josephus Daniels called on the Democratic Party leaders to make the fight a primary issue in the campaign. They will not heed his advice unless there is an overwhelming public demand for the reform. The Senate is dead-set against change. . . . Committees of the House and Senate have been working on an over-all contract-termination bill for more than a year. There still is no agreement, yet business, labor and government are urging speed. Other postwar-planning bills are making even slower progress. . . . Robert E. Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, believes that thousands of Republican women will be for a fourth term. He says that women all over the country want the President to stay in office until the war is won. . . . The President is having a tough time filling the vacancy on the Interstate Commerce Commission. He must nominate a Republican, preferably a New England Republican, and the nominee must be acceptable to freight-rate revisionists from the Democratic South.

Washington T. R. B.

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Fathers and Songs

"GOING MY WAY" is Producer-Writer-Director Leo McCarey's surprising movie that presents the Catholic Church with a method of gaining recruits and Paramount Pictures with what should be a box-office miracle and probably the next Academy Award winner. It has just the right amount of bright eventfulness, moral purposefulness and the kind of movie smartness that can sell a very sugary business, with enough sophistication, good direction and playing to win almost any popular poll. The story is about a young priest called Father Chuck O'Malley, played by Bing Crosby, who is used by his Bishop to revive religion in parishes where the church membership and finances seem to be dwindling. The one he revives in this picture is St. Dominick's in New York City's slums, presided over by an ancient receptacle of old man's crotchets, Father Fitzgibbon (Barry Fitzgerald), who is driven to distraction by Crosby's dress—a baseball outfit given him by the St. Louis Browns—his choir, which sings "Three Blind Mice," and his ability to leap the rectory hedge and sing college songs over the telephone to his old roommate. At the end of two hours and ten minutes everything is rosy and Crosby leaves to take the sag out of another church.

The basic pattern of "Going My Way" is an ancient and irritating one, though it is reworked here with some unusual weave and has enough well perceived human touches and real movie talent to make it pleasant. Its pattern is that in which something bountiful, delightful and exciting is forever happening to everybody, supposedly because of their moral right-doing and because that's the way things happen in real life; but actually it is because the producers are afraid their movie will be too dull, or too morally unpalatable or subtle for audiences in any less jazzed-up form. Five minutes out, you can see the rest of the movie coming, the kind of tone that will be achieved in each event, the attitude and success with which Crosby will meet each one, the narrow kind of provincialism that the parish people will bring against him, and, more unpleasantly, the realization that, once started, the piling up of one kind of event must repeat itself until at the end nothing seems sincere; and the moral tags and realism turn more and more sour as the obvious entertainment ideas keep cropping up regularly in the plot.

But though "Going My Way" is continually jazzed up with obvious entertainments and too-fortuitous circumstance, there are a number of fine things done within the circumstances, the most commendable being the natural, informal way that the people are allowed to go about. There is a lazy quality about the procedure of the events that makes you feel the people did not realize they were in a movie: they are rather slow getting to the dramatic business on hand; they walk and eat as though they were in the picture only to do that; then when the drama has occurred, they are allowed to go on for an unusual amount of movie time—ruminating about what has happened, strolling in the rectory, or finishing their meal. It provides the plot-skeleton of this movie with just the life that it needs. More of this kind of humanity is gained by also allowing an unusually large number of the people the freedom and footage to make themselves into characters, and talented players like Barry Fitzgerald, Gene Lockhart and Porter Hall produce the richer humanity of which they have always been capable. I thought Fitzgerald quite wonderful in his presentation of the pets, lapses and stubbornnesses of a man close on senility, though the picture trades too obviously on his comedy talents: every so often it stops like a jazz orchestra, and Fitzgerald, the star performer, produces the improvised break. Crosby and Fitzgerald do the touchy interpersonal relationship of a younger priest nosing out an older one with a good amount of the exploring and adjusting that gives the relationship a continual tension and soreness.

Add to all of these extraordinary virtues, good photography, better settings—well littered by the right textures and patterns (one of the best being Fitzgerald's night shirt)—a likably offhanded way of getting the songs in and out, nicely achieved realism, such as allowing the choir boys to react as they boyishly would before celebrities like Risë Stevens or Crosby instead of stiffening them with prepared actions, and you have a good many virtues. I wish the vehicle that carried them weren't so hoary and sugar-coated.

MANNY FARBER

Trojan Hearse

Helen Goes to Troy (La Belle Helène), the new book by Gottfried Reinhardt and John Meehan Jr. New musical version of Offenbach's music by E. W. Korngold. Alvin Theatre, April 24, 1944.

THE PROBLEM of the restatement of such classic pieces of opera bouffe as "La Belle Helène" to the uses of our American stage and American scene is a genuinely interesting one, but to apply the same to this new occasion at the Alvin would be a waste of time. This latest venture of the New Opera Company is only a lavish vulgarization of the familiar Reinhardt vulgarizations of such Gallic works. The Gallic economy of means has vanished, the Gallic taste is absent, the Gallic discretion and patience and telling witticism are completely lacking. We have considerable energy, vulgarity and prodigality displayed, but very little that is worth talking about at all.

What we can say is that Madame Novotna looks very well indeed when indeed costumed. Her voice has a few good notes at the bottom, the rest tends to be somewhat *aspra*, as the Italians say of spinach when sand is in it. Mr. William Horne's Paris has a notable upper register, when that is required. The only member of the company, however, who plays with anything like the original intention of wit and drollery is Mr. Ernest Truex, and he does this for the excellent reason that he understands, though not the French, at least the American comic method, which is more than can be said for the company as directed by Mr. Herbert Graf, choreographed by Mr. Leonid Massine, and so on; for here the understanding is only of the loose method, or of accustomed theatre looseness. Mr. Robert Edmond Jones's settings, limited to columns and divers shifted adaptations, are very enchanting and delightful. His lighting of the various scenes is outside the powers of anybody else in our entire theatre. With the exception of Madame Helen Novotna's effects, which are like a succession of soup-bunches for Ziegfeld divas, plus a Holly-

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wood squat to the idea, if you see what I mean. Mr. Ladislas Czettel's costumes are varied and exciting, especially those from the Tanagra statuettes, which I may add are more frequently admired than correctly pronounced —the accent is on the first syllable. (Such levity in mere correct information on my part is in itself a measure of what trash this new Reinhardtist venture amounts to.) Three seasons ago Mr. Stewart Chaney, at the Westport summer theatre, tried a production of this same opus with colored singers, who, as usual, never could decide whether they were White House, El Morocco or Harlem, New Deal, octoroon or quadroon, but who, all in all, what with the gifted simplicity of Mr. Chaney's intentions, produced a better result than we have now. The orchestra under Mr. Korngold, though not always strictly in the American tradition, was unusually good.

STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

The verbal storm occurred after a brief recess [selecting jurors for the sedition trial]. Defendants and their attorneys were suddenly called back to court and newspapermen told to wait outside. Arthur Sears Henning, The Chicago Tribune's correspondent, who has termed the trial a New Deal smear of critics, was the only reporter to be admitted into the session that followed, the deputy marshal at the door believing him to be one of the defendants. – *From The Chicago Daily News.*

Back from a trip to Mexico, Albert W. Hilliard, wool merchant, was the envy of downtown Boston today with his tales of eating seven-course steak dinners for 50 cents, buying land at 67 cents an acre and hiring skilled labor at 40 cents to $1 a day. . . . "The people have not been softened by luxurious habits" [said Mr. Hilliard]. – *From The Christian Science Monitor.*

Sh-h-h

Recognizing fully the danger of merely giving further publicity to any book or motion picture by calling attention to its vulgarity, Dr. Newton wrote the mayor [William B. Hartsfield of Atlanta], "I cannot accept the responsibility of condoning, by failure to protest, the widely current book by Lillian Smith, entitled 'Strange Fruit', published by Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.75." – *From The Atlanta Journal.*

On the Home Front

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury John L. Sullivan told the Senate Banking Committee yesterday that the salary stabilization unit of the Bureau of Internal Revenue had approved increases totaling $1,094,000 a year for 95 corporation officers making more than $50,000 a year before the increases were allowed. – *From PM.*

Total-War Department

Fifty marines, both men and women, were guests yesterday afternoon at a party at which Elizabeth Arden introduced a new shade of lipstick, nail polish and rouge—Montezuma Red, to match the cap, cord, scarf and chevrons of the marines' uniforms. – *From The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Russia and America

SIR: When de Tocqueville, the great French philosopher, visited this country in 1835 he gathered material for his monumental work on Democracy as he had studied its processes in the new world and its future global development. It still remains a masterly analysis of a new political doctrine in which the author carefully weighs the merits and weaknesses of democracy, and many a keen glance is cast into the future of world development. Not the least interesting of his forecasts is contained in the passage in which he couples Russia and the United States of America in his vision of world domination. It runs as follows:

Two great nations are seen on the globe in our times; both having started from a different point, seem to advance toward the same end: they are Russia and the Anglo-Americans.

Both had grown in obscurity, and whilst the attention of mankind was fixed elsewhere: they have suddenly placed themselves in the first rank of nations. The world has learned almost at the same time their birth and their grandeur.

All other nations seem to have reached their boundary line marked by nature, but these are still growing: all the others have ceased to march or are advancing through a thousand obstacles: these alone advance with rapid and easy strides in a career the limits of which cannot yet be perceived.

The mainspring of action of the one is liberty: servitude is that of the other. Their points of departure differ widely: their paths follow very different courses. Nevertheless, each seems called by a secret decree of providence to hold some day in her hands the destinies of half the world.

Nashville, Tenn. G. F. N.

Life Among the Germans

SIR: I send herewith quotations from a letter recently received from a friend in Germany. Needless to say, this letter did not go through the censorship.

Stockholm, Sweden S. R. G.

[ENCLOSURE]

We got your photos and were so happy about them that we arranged a little feast: we have put your photos on the table under the lamp and drink your health with real coffee—we were given a small ration after the raids. Much has changed during the last years and much is lost, but we have remained unchanged. On October 19 Werner was killed on the eastern front, and soon after Max died there from a disease. Hans is here again and lives according to circumstances, and the other Hans whom we loved so dearly has disappeared. [This means that he was imprisoned or executed.] You remember Helmuth? He didn't like being a soldier and was one for only a very short time. He will never return to see his little three-year-old son. [The receivers of this letter suppose that Helmuth, who had been a Socialist and always objected to fighting in this war, was executed by the Nazis.] Georg and Anna had to leave the theatre, or rather the theatre left them, because it was quite destroyed by one of the last raids. Now they have joined a group of other actors who are in the same situation and wander from one village to the other. They play in empty barns and stables wearing the same clothes every time—the only ones they have. It reminds you of the Middle Ages. The only good news we can give you is about Rolf: he is a war prisoner in the USA. [The address of the camp follows.] You might write and congratulate him on his luck.

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Books in Review

The War Against Writers

So it was to be literature that took the blame. If the young American conscripts of 1941 didn't know why they were in uniform and if many of them thought all this stuff about the Nazis was just propaganda—you know, like the Belgian babies—that wasn't the fault of the home or the school or the press or the patriotic liars of 1917. Oh, no, it was the serious American writers who were responsible, and why?—because, as MacLeish explained, they had told what they conceived to be the truth about the last war. And if the civilian public was complacent, that too was the fault of our living writers: hadn't we heard from Van Wyck Brooks that they lacked scope and were incapable of affirmations? As for Bernard DeVoto, he went much farther in his indictment than these two critics, who, after all, were speaking from a profound respect for the written word. DeVoto shares that respect, but in a curiously twisted fashion that leads him to condemn what he loves and even to hack and stab at other writers for the entertainment of the Philistines (while sometimes you feel that he is deliberately turning the knife-blade in his own wound). One of his many charges in "The Literary Fallacy" is so extreme that it has to be set down in his own words before you believe that a responsible critic was capable of making it. After telling us that both Oswald Spengler and Professor Haushofer's Geopolitical Institute pictured the United States as a decadent pluto-democracy and its people as degenerate, he goes on to say:

> There is a striking correspondence between the Spenglerian and geopolitical descriptions of America on the one hand and, on the other, the description of America embodied in the literature of the 1920's. The correspondence is so obvious, so often an identity, that there must be a causal relationship between them. Clearly the master race accepted in good faith the description of America which American writers had provided, and made their plans in accordance with it. I am not obliged to determine whether a decade of our literature thus invited our enemies to aggressions which they might not otherwise have dared or hoaxed them to their doom. But. . . .

But, though he won't come out and say it directly, DeVoto leaves his readers to infer that Van Wyck Brooks, Sinclair Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, their colleagues and disciples were criminally responsible for the German plans against us and for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Does he want to have them tried after the war, like Kimmel and Short? And in that case, will he permit me to mention some of the evidence that American literature in general might offer as its own defense?

Among the American authors most widely discussed in Germany after 1925 were Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, John Dos Passos, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Wolfe, Margaret Mitchell and John Steinbeck. Other names might be added to the list, but they wouldn't greatly change its nature. If American literature encouraged the master race to plan its attack on us, these six men and this one woman were among the chief criminals. But what was the picture that each of them presented?—and to whom?

Upton Sinclair's novels were issued by left-wing publishing houses (like Malik Verlag) and their huge audience consisted chiefly of Socialists and Communists. They depicted the United States as a powerful, not a decadent, pluto-democracy and its people as prejudiced, misinformed, but at heart kindly and well meaning. Sinclair Lewis reached the general public, especially with "Babbitt," which had a large sale in Germany. Its readers laughed at George F. Babbitt's faults, but they did not regard him as degenerate. Many German critics recognized the features of their own *Spiessbürger*. John Dos Passos appealed to a left-wing audience, smaller and more intellectual than that of Upton Sinclair. Among all these authors, he came nearest to depicting the United States as a decadent nation. But that was in "The Big Money," not published here till 1936 and never published in Germany. His earlier books had been burned on May 10, 1933, together with those of Lewis and Sinclair.

Ernest Hemingway was a widely discussed but not a popular author; the Germans were puzzled by his understatements. When a German writer wants to convey sadness or mild regret, he is likely to say that he was overwhelmed by waves of intolerable grief. When Hemingway wishes to imply that he was overwhelmed by waves of intolerable grief, as at the end of "A Farewell to Arms," he says that he walked back to the hotel through the rain. The Germans didn't know what to make of it. Thomas Wolfe, who never used a little adjective when he could find three big ones, was more to their taste. "Look Homeward, Angel" appealed to young people of all political convictions, before and after Hitler's rise to power. There were some good qualities in the German youth movement, and they were mirrored at a distance in Wolfe's hero.

The public at large liked "Gone with the Wind," partly for the same reasons that the book was liked in America, but partly because its picture of the defeated South helped to put an aura of romance around the German defeat in 1918. None of Miss Mitchell's readers gained the impression that American soldiers were weaklings or cowards. Among the seven authors on our list, the only one whom the Nazis tried to use for anti-American propaganda was John Steinbeck. After Pearl Harbor, they translated "The Grapes of Wrath" without Steinbeck's knowledge; they were trying to show what a miserable life was led by peasants in a pluto-democracy. But also they showed, against their wills, that American writers had the strength to create epical legends and a freedom that German writers lacked to draw their own picture of the world.

It was Hitler, not Haushofer or Spengler, who determined German policy, and there is no evidence that he read a single book by any of these authors. There is no evidence that he had any ideas whatever based on the American creative literature of the 1920's. His early picture of American life was gained from reading the novels of Karl May, the German disciple of James Fenimore

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Cooper. Later he liked to see American movies, from which he might have derived the notion that we were preoccupied with false emotions and material luxuries. But—and this one point destroys DeVoto's whole indictment—he did not believe that this was a decadent or degenerate nation. Konrad Heiden, author of "Der Führer," ought to be our best authority, and on this point Heiden is explicit. "America," he says, "is for Hitler an object of terror. America, to his mind, mustered every hostile power against Europe; in America space and race joined forces against the Old World." And there is more to the same effect, supported at every point by quotations from Hitler's speeches.

When Hitler finally decided to fight us, his hope of victory was based, not on our national decadence, but on our national disunity. He was depending for help on our anti-interventionists, our anti-Semites, our super-nationalists, our America Firsters, our I-hate-Russians; on the whole mob of people who fear labor unions more than they fear the triumph through the world of Nazi ideals, which indeed—they mistakenly think—would be their own victory. American literature had nothing to do with his decision.

But literature must always take the blame, at least when literary critics try to explain political movements. In France, where the attack on writers has been even more vehement, André Gide defended them by telling a fable he claimed to have heard in the Congo. It seems, so he says in the first of his "Imaginary Interviews," that a great number of people, hoping to cross a broad river, had crowded into the ferry. Overloaded, the boat stuck fast in the mud, and the question was which of the passengers would have to get out. First the ferryman put ashore a fat merchant, a shyster lawyer, a dishonest moneylender and the madam of a bawdy house. The boat couldn't be budged. Next to go were the owner of a gambling den, a slave dealer and even a few respectable people. Still the boat didn't move, but it was getting lighter all the time, and at last it floated when a missionary, thin as a shadow, stepped to the bank. "He is the man!" the natives shouted in chorus. "There stands the very spirit of weight. May he be accursed!"

MALCOLM COWLEY

Balancing Falstaff

The Fortunes of Falstaff, by J. Dover Wilson. New York: The Macmillan Company. 143 pages. $2.25.

WHATEVER DOVER WILSON writes about Shakespeare is well worth reading, and should be read with the utmost caution. Scholars have been offering us such an intolerable deal of bread and such a scant halfpennyworth of sack that perhaps our immediate need is refreshment rather than nourishment: with Sir Edmund Chambers abandoning interpretation for compilation, and W. W. Greg disposing of critical judgment by mathematical formula, perhaps it is time for a more Falstaffian diet. Liberty and discipline are the counterbalancing themes of "Henry IV," according to Professor Wilson, who commendably wishes to balance the liberty of criticism against the discipline of scholarship. If scholarshi pis top-heavy, criticism has been unbalanced. Critics—from Maurice Morgann in the late eighteenth century to A. C. Bradley in the early twentieth—have taken their most reckless liberties with the character of Falstaff, have hypertrophied and etherealized him, inflating him with "an inexplicable touch of infinity" and metamorphosing him into "a kind of god in the mythology of modern man."

Thirty years ago, in an essay which is supplemented but not supplanted by Mr. Wilson's book, E. E. Stoll made a single-handed attempt to deflate the myth and walk through the part, relating the play to its time and defining Falstaff in terms of his stage business. Between Bradley's transcendentalism and Stoll's behaviorism Mr. Wilson attempts to mediate. He is not by temperament a mediator. Mr. Stoll, looking askance at his supersubtle conjectures and ebullient hunches, considers him a literary detective. His inexhaustible curiosity stands, at all events, in refreshing contrast to the closed mind of Professor Stoll (who, losing touch with his own time, has become increasingly chary of the historical method, which he once employed so effectively). Mr. Wilson's "new portrait" of the fat knight bears an acknowledged resemblance to Dr. Johnson's early sketch. Indeed it bears traces of the tendentious toryism that is again becoming fashionable, the tendency—lately exemplified in E. M. W. Tillyard's "Elizabethan World Picture"—to medievalize the Renaissance, playing down its skepticisms and playing up its orthodoxies. Thus Mr. Wilson calls "Richard II" Shakespeare's "miracle play," and forgets that it served as propaganda for the Essex conspiracy.

Bearing the weight of controversy jauntily, Mr. Wilson's Falstaff is a surprisingly well balanced characterization, exaggerated in detail or fuzzy in outline here and there, but shrewdly conceived and amply proportioned: in short, the very grandest of comic roles, but always comic and always a role. To the confused and confusing questions of the mythologists—"Was Falstaff a coward?" and "Was Prince Henry justified in finally repudiating him?"—Mr. Wilson's answers constitute, on the whole, a sound Johnsonian affirmative. His companion portrait of the Prince justifies the pay-off, though it unduly disparages Hotspur by an excess of royalist zeal. The epic of Gadshill is retrospectively blurred by the assumption that Falstaff catches on to the Prince's practical joke and meets it halfway with his cock-and-bull story. "In the reproof of this lies the jest," says Poins. For Mr. Wilson it lies in "a secret understanding" between Falstaff and "the brighter spirits" among his audience. This spoils the timing of his discomfiture, and the final triumph of his "escape-wit," the speech on instinct. It turns a consummate gag into a half-hearted piece of intellectual snobbery.

Mr. Wilson has almost succeeded in keeping King Charles's head out of this book; he propounds nothing so incredible as his theories about the play-within-the-play in "What Happens in 'Hamlet'." He is asking too much, however, when he asks us to take a casual quibble seriously, disregard the serious evidence to the contrary, and believe that the Prince allowed Falstaff to claim credit for the slaying of Hotspur. We do not require so far-fetched a hypothesis to account for Falstaff's "comic hubris." Having stolen the show in Part One, it was inevitable that he should mug his way through the sequel. Furthermore, Shakespeare was running out of chronicle material, and had various reasons for relegating the Prince to the background. Excluding "Henry V" and "The Merry Wives

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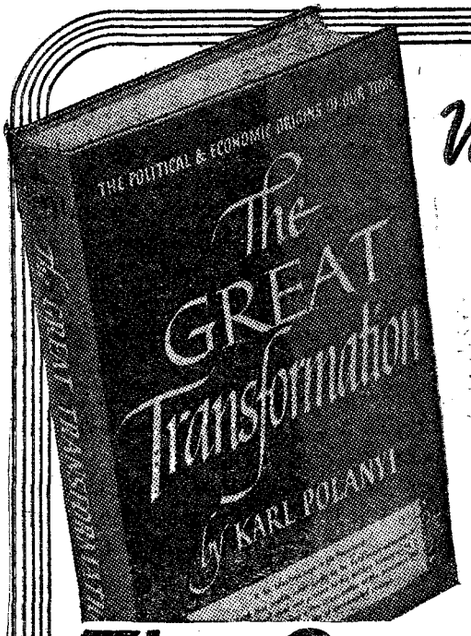

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of Windsor" from his canon, Mr. Wilson presupposes a structural unity for the two "Henry IV" plays which seems dubious in the light of theatrical history. His interpretation of Part Two as a morality, with Falstaff personifying the vice and the Chief Justice representing the virtues, is illuminating but by no means novel; Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's suggestion has already been elaborated by two American scholars, J. W. Spargo and R. A. Law.

Though Sir John's equilibrium never seems quite certain, he usually lands on his feet. And though, following him, the search for novelty often proves misleading, Mr. Wilson reaches some pertinent conclusions. Yet he skips the play-acting scene, where Falstaff is at the top of his form, "because . . . it raises no problems that need disentangling." He prefers to approach his subject the hard way—by the *via crucis*, as it were. He is guided, he tells us, by his "editorial experience" with the new Cambridge Shakespeare. How far can we trust the guidance of an editor who has tended to regard his text as a private communication from the author to himself? Dramatic experience, the example of Granville Barker suggests, would be a sounder guide. No one, with the requirements of the theatre in mind, would call the crown-stealing scene—at best a stiff episode of Tudor pageantry—"one of the peaks of Shakespeare's dramatic achievement." And if Mr. Wilson believes that Falstaff and Doll Tearsheet are the only Shakespearean characters that indulge in "necking" (*sic*), we shall be curious to see his edition of "Troilus and Cressida." Experience is an elusive criterion, particularly for those whose sense of the fullness of life comes closer to Justice Shallow's than to Falstaff's.

HARRY LEVIN

What Price Recognition?

Passport to the War, by Stanley Kunitz. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 60 pages. $2.
News of the Phoenix, by A. J. M. Smith. New York: Coward, McCann, Inc. 42 pages. $2.
The Seven Sleepers, by Mark Van Doren. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 123 pages. $2.50.

STANLEY KUNITZ is a poet who would have been helped, I feel, by an earlier and wider, not more generous, but juster, recognition. Under the siege of silence, he has maintained himself with dignity and fortitude; but who can say what it has cost him in expenditure of provisions and reserves, in occasional desperate sallies? Now he has gone to other wars, leaving us this testament in the form of a passport to an area where no such document is required.

Twenty-six poems are all that Mr. Kunitz cares to keep, from such work as he has done since the publication of "Intellectual Things," in 1930, to the present. Less than two poems a year: few of us are so strict with ourselves; and while there are all too many whose zeal in this direction requires no curb, still Mr. Kunitz' attitude seems a little, pardon me, morbid. In a poem called "Welcome the Wrath," he writes of "The waiting at the door too long, Winter, wages and self-disdain"; and in the same poem, tells how he must conduct himself:

> I'll not . . . warp my vision
> To square with odds; not scrape; not scamp my fiber,
> Though pushed by spoilers of the nerves' precision,
> Bothered by caterpillars of suspicion,
> Hired by speculators in my gut and labor.

And in "Night Letter," he writes: "I suffer the twentieth century." As what fine and sensitive nature does not? Mr. Kunitz is unusually good at seeing and reporting the hemorrhages and traumas, the manias and knaveries, of our particular time—"all pride, sores, excretion/blazing with death." His writing is nervous, intense, troubled and troublesome, almost too fine. The creative spirit, he surely knows, needs more than sensitivity and patience. To face up to the twentieth century, or to any other century, for that matter, demands some robust scorn, a streak, anyway, of healthy vulgarity, an ability to utter the *mot de Cambronne* on its proper occasions.

"Tell them I say the heart forgives/The world. Yes, I believe. In love." So Mr. Kunitz states the affirmative side of his credo in the poem called "My Surgeons." Given any kind of a decent break in the luck, this poet, one hopes, will learn to take heart from his own profession, to relax a little, take it a bit easier; loving means letting yourself go, not holding on to the self quite so tightly, making a few mistakes, learning to be forgiven as well as to forgive. This sounds, no doubt, very smug and easy to say; but Mr. Kunitz is so fine a poet one wishes, somehow, he might be happier.

A. J. M. Smith, who, at last reports was teaching at Michigan State College, is another poet whose publication, in book form, might have come much sooner. This Canadian poet seems to be of a much more buoyant temperament than Mr. Kunitz; his book, consequently, is more uneven, less controlled and less unified. "Be traditional, catholic and alive," Mr. Smith is quoted as saying; he is certainly lively; eclectic, so far, rather than catholic; he has not yet settled down to a style. He writes sonnets with Thee's and Thou's; I have read other poems by Mr. Smith, not gathered into his book, that I would rather find here than some of these. He writes simple clear lyrics, in the manner of the Imagists; "Hellenica" consists of two fine exercises along these lines, and "The Creek" has natural objects beautifully seen and delicately stated. And Mr. Smith handles satirical poetry, whose Muse cries aloud in our time for a brisk and ready wooer, with real exuberance and wit; for example, see "A Portrait and a Prophecy," or "Son-and-Heir," or hear him "On Reading an Anthology of Popular Poetry":

> Is there no katharsis
> But "song" for this dull
> Pain, that every Saul of Tarsus
> Must pant himself into a Paul?

Mark Van Doren, as distinguished from these poets, has not suffered from lack of recognition. He has won the Pulitzer prize, as good poets sometimes do; yet, on the whole, this award is a dubious honor, as if its recipient were one with whom the unpoetic may feel at home. For Mr. Van Doren's work it is easier to profess admiration than to feel enthusiasm. The line is correct; the writer is aware both of tradition and of modern innovations in technique; the statements are intelligent, the music subdued, not insistent, the emotion under control. Where Mr. Kunitz gave us twenty-six poems for fourteen years, Mr. Van

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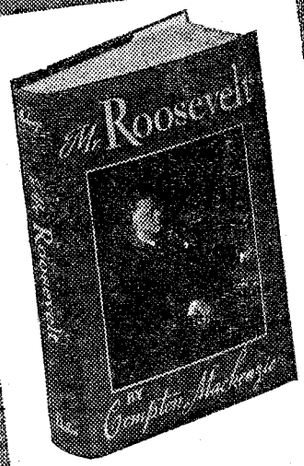

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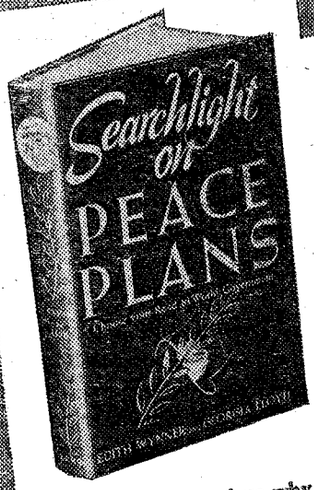

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Doren, in half that time, not counting three dozen poems reprinted from a book published two years ago, gives us sixty-eight. Yet these poems do not seem glib, easily turned out, facile self-imitations; on the contrary, they seem rather rugged and hard-won, as if the emotions had wrung them from a reluctant intellect, and the trophies presented, in the form of art, have tatters, frays and dents from the struggle. For the effort and the result, the reader is bound to feel a certain amount of respect; but respect is such a cold kind of consent to accord a poem! Still, Mr. Van Doren's is a cold kind of poetry, cold and rather dry, cold and rather de-personalized, even when he is writing sympathetically about people. Significance may lie in the fact that he has dedicated this book to an institution. Or it may be that in ways he understands less than Mr. Kunitz, he too suffers the twentieth century, which has caused him to miss his real vocation. Had Mr. Van Doren been given more solitude, we might have received fewer, but graver, meditations; and the poet, if brought closer to religious than to secular education, might have achieved, more often, though with lonelier voice, the kind of expression attained in "Most Difficult." "It is most difficult." "It is."

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

The Other Japan

The New Sun, by Taro Yashima. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 310 pages. $2.75.

IN THE ENDLESS STREAM of newly published volumes, this small one should not be overlooked, for there are a great many persons in my home state of California who volubly proclaim that the Japanese people are incapable of social vision, and that we have to reduce them to a condition of permanent subjection, or at any rate send schoolmasters to take charge of them and reëducate their children. This reviewer can offer proof that the Japanese have social vision; for in the quarter-century since the First World War practically everything he wrote in the cause of social justice was translated, published and widely read in Japan, and he possesses two shelves of a bookcase filled with these Japanese translations.

When the militarists of that unhappy land were ready to act, they began by jailing and torturing all those who advocated democratic and social ideas in their country. That included the greater part of the intellectuals of Japan; but it is safe to assume that they have not all been killed, and certainly there are many who have escaped to foreign lands and are waiting patiently a chance to return to their country and resume their job as propagandists of social justice and world peace—a task for which they are equipped and for which foreign teachers would not be acceptable to the Japanese people.

I do not know Taro Yashima or his political group, but his book shows him to be a man of social vision. He is a painter, and he has told the varied and exciting story of his own life in some three hundred little sketches, each of which occupies a page of this book, with two or three lines of simple and clear explanatory text. Thus we follow the adventures of a young Japanese, the son of a doctor, who first dreamed of becoming an admiral, and then decided upon painting as a career. He attended the Imperial Art Academy; then he went back to paint the farmers of his native village. Then with his young artist wife he lived among the factory workers of the cities. They sacrificed their professional standing to oppose the Fascists of Japan. He joined the underground movement, and was jailed ten times. He was many times tortured, and so was his wife, and their two children fell victim to the long and cruel struggle.

Americans need to be reminded of this story, because here is an aspect of Japanese life about which we know very little and need to know more. Children will love this book, and if they have to become teachers in Japan, they will be better teachers for having read it. American soldiers in the Far East are fighting to save their own lives and to preserve democratic institutions; but it would not do them any harm to know that at the same time they are fighting for the liberties, both political and economic, of the millions of humble Japanese.

UPTON SINCLAIR

Behind the Scenes

The Ghost Talks, by Charles Michelson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 240 pages. $3.

CHARLES MICHELSON, or Charley Mike as he is known in Washington, has been press agent of the Democratic Party for a decade and a half. A few weeks ago he turned over his typewriter to a younger man. He had known a dozen Presidents in his day and had seen his country at war three times. Most of his life was spent as an observer, but because of his exceptional ability he became an actor in the great drama that has unfolded in the last dozen years.

Now we have the ghost writer's memoir. It is delightful, pungent, witty. As Republicans know, Charley Michelson is a facile, engaging writer. They think that he, more than any other individual, was responsible for the caricature that was drawn of Herbert Hoover in his last months in the White House.

Michelson is a partisan Democrat. He has great admiration for "Franklin the Roose"—the President of the United States. He thinks that there seldom has been a politician his equal. He tells an amusing tale to illustrate what he calls "the President's sunny disposition to make people believe that he is with them." Before the voting began at the 1940 Democratic National Convention in Chicago "three eminent Democrats" told Michelson that they had the President's blessing in their candidacy for the vice-presidential nomination. "All of them," he writes, "had talked—separately, of course—to the President just before starting for Chicago."

> "He gave me the green light," said Eminent Democrat No. 1.
> "He wished me success," said Eminent Democrat No. 2.
> "He said, 'That's fine', when I told him I would try for the nomination," said Eminent Democrat No. 3.

Michelson describes himself as "a political bravo whose sword was ready for any service that would be most profitable." But in 1936 when the Liberty League bid for his services, he found that that description of himself had been

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CHURCHILL—Who is going to succeed him?

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THE ANTI-LIBERAL American "Liberals"

One of the appalling psychological and political hypocrisies of this period is laid bare with brutal frankness in "A Letter to American Liberals" by Eugene Lyons in the May Mercury . . . Though they hailed the Atlantic Charter, self-styled "liberals" now think nothing of scrapping it . . . They have lost interest in the small nations and the large decencies which they once loudly championed . . . They have embraced the doctrines of power politics and expediency . . . Mr. Lyons piles up facts and asks questions that must be faced by every honest American, in an article that will be one of the most discussed—and cussed.

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Commenting on the reported death of Herriot, France's great liberal statesman, Time *said "death came to Edouard Herriot, but not to his words, not to his memory." . . . One of our proudest memories here at The American Mercury is that we published his last written words. In 1941, through underground channels, out of fallen France, we received an article by Herriot. It was the first—and as far as we know the only—democratic statement that came from a leader still inside defeated France. Shortly after the article was published, Herriot was arrested, as he must have known he would be . . . The privilege of carrying such a message under such circumstances is one that we shall always cherish.*

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"only a bit of campaign oratory." But he had found in his early days that he could work for Hearst without undue harm to his conscience. His apologies for Hearst are hard to swallow, but Michelson prides himself upon being a realist. Later, in the twenties, he was chief of the Washington bureau of The New York World, leaving that famous journal late in the decade to become Democratic press agent.

"The Ghost Talks" is not formal history. Its chief concern is with the era of Franklin Roosevelt, but it is by no means a complete story. The chief fault of this pleasant narrative is its random, unorganized form. It is never dull, but it is sometimes exasperating in the way it jumps about from one thing to another, often taking the reader to the point of letting him in on a big secret, then wandering off to something else. Historians will not like "The Ghost Talks," but they will not find it dull.

The first conclusion that this famous politico draws from his long life is amusing and pointed. "The chief source of our errors and faults is the circumstance that we take our government less seriously than we do our politics. The next conclusion appears to be that nothing can be done to change this situation."

That is the type of cynicism, or realism, that has become the philosophy of Charley Mike. He likes politics and, particularly, politicians. "We have survived geniuses and stuffed shirts in our succession of Presidents and have averaged up pretty well under the job our politicians have done for us. Among the politicians there have been rogues and racketeers, perhaps in the same proportion as among business men, labor leaders, lawyers, and almost any other group in our citizenry."

As philosophy, the book is far from great; as journalism it is very good indeed.

CARROLL KILPATRICK

Contributors

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HARRY LEVIN has a Guggenheim Fellowship for the present year, and is now completing a study of French realism. He is the author of "James Joyce: A Critical Introduction" and has edited the Selected Works of Ben Jonson.

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UPTON SINCLAIR, novelist and California political figure, received the Pulitzer prize for fiction in 1943 for his novel, "Wide Is the Gate." Volume 5 of the Lanny Budd series, called "Presidential Agent," is to be published by Viking in June.

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A Congress to Win the War and the Peace[1]

Special Section

Wanted: A Great Congress

THE KIND OF GOVERNMENT which the United States has does not run well when left to itself, and to chance, inaction and prayer. It generates far more friction than does, for example, the English type of cabinet government in which the executive and the legislative powers function or fall together. It needs, therefore, a far more constant effort at surveillance and harmonizing than do the other great governments of the world. In the past it has done tolerably well, largely because the enormous resources and wealth of the country have given it a large margin of safety, and because in times of crisis the presidential leadership of the country has risen to the crisis. But for the coming years neither resources nor presidential leadership will in themselves be enough to pull us through. For the big question about our resources will not be whether we have them, but whether we shall know how to organize them, for peace and plenty. And presidential leadership will be powerless without mature congressional help.

What America is going to need, far more than anything else during the coming years, is a great Congress.

There would be very few who would be so reckless as to say that we have one today. There are men of great ability and industry, vision and patriotism, in both Houses of Congress. But they are outnumbered by petty men, who mistake ambition for capacity, bluster for work, blindness for vision and passionate hatreds for patriotism.

That there is a great congressional problem today no one can deny who views events with the candor of the historian rather than with the passions of the partisan. The proof of it is the effort of a majority in Congress, in the most fateful war in our history and on the threshold of the most fateful peace, to carry on a private campaign against the public welfare on the home front. During the past year a fusion of the Tory Democrats with the Republicans, an unholy alliance, has succeeded in blocking many essential war measures. This has meant a campaign to break price control and other techniques necessary in the fight against inflation. It has meant a tax program clearly inadequate for the vast demands of a war economy. It has meant a virtual withdrawal of funds for the domestic work of the Office of War Information. It has meant efforts, at least partially successful, to cripple the work of the Federal Communications Commission, the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Farm Security Administration. It has meant a reign of terror against federal government officials suspected of liberal tendencies. And it has meant a refusal to give the soldiers any effective means of voting in the coming elections.

This is government by deadlock, government by spite, government by negation and government by fear. It is not government by greatness.

The fusion-majority of tory Democrats and Republicans has tried to make a virtue of its partisanship, on the ground that a great Congress must be independent of the Executive. It is true that no great Congress can be merely a rubber-stamp for the Executive. But to sabotage the executive program, especially in a period of war crisis, is a sign not of independence but of irresponsibility. There is a vast gulf between responsible independence and creative opposition on the one hand, and sabotage on the other.

The threat of continued congressional sabotage during the remainder of the war, and during the crucial years of the postwar period, is the greatest threat that America faces. The congressional tories of both parties are already saying very explicitly that if they do not approve of the executive leadership, they will not cooperate with the President in the peace. If they are reëlected, they will have the power to carry out their threat. An earlier Congress, after World War I, did that: and it succeeded in wrecking the peace. Will the Congress of our own postwar period have the same success?

If it does that, the whole country will have to pay for it. And Congress too will have to pay for it, by a shattered prestige and a diminished authority with the people. G. K. Chesterton once drew a crucial distinction between power and authority. A bull in a china

[1] This special section was prepared by the editors of The New Republic in coöperation with the Union for Democratic Action.

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shop, he said, is power—but he is not authority. A sabotaging Congress will have the power after the war to wreck the peace and the country. But if it does so it will be acting outside the mandate and authority of the American people. And it will be wrecking itself in the process.

It is for the American people to exercise its authority, to make its mandate clear and to keep Congress from destroying the country and the faith in democratic institutions. This it can do best by scrutinizing the congressional records and the integrity and patriotism of the men who offer themselves for election.

The main tasks that confront the country during the coming years are six: First, to finish the winning of the war, thoroughly and unconditionally and not by a negotiated peace. Second, to build a strong structure of United Nations authority and power after the war. Third, to establish continuity in American foreign policy, so that our partners in the forming of the United Nations will be able to count on our role. Fourth, to demobilize our armed forces and our war economy effectively. Fifth, to build a peacetime machine for full production and employment. Sixth, to maintain and extend the fabric of social peace and democratic freedom.

The American people will stand little chance of achieving these purposes unless they elect a great Congress. This means a Congress of liberal men and women regardless of party—men and women who think for themselves but who also see the necessity for working with the executive for common aims, who are free from narrow pressures and are not the puppets of the lobbies that form the Invisible Congress, who see that America must take a leadership among equals in a collective world effort to make this the last war, but who see also that America cannot do this well unless it is an America that is economically healthy, politically free and just, culturally rich.

A Platform for Progressives

THE MAIN OBJECTIVES of the progressives are, in our judgment, identical with the main objectives of the American people as a whole for their welfare, and they can be stated briefly in broad and simple terms. The progressives want the best possible life for the largest possible number of people. That means a world without war, a world in which the internal affairs of every country are directed toward producing a high level of prosperity for all its citizens. Progressives believe that poverty is indirectly a fertile cause of war. They believe further that modern technology has made such tremendous advances that, perhaps for the first time in man's history, a comparatively high level of living for everyone can be attained. In short, poverty is now technically obsolete. They believe that the next Congress of the United States can do very much to better the condition of American citizens, and can take important strides toward a peaceful world, by proper action in the fields, among others, of foreign affairs, social legislation, taxes and inflation control, labor legislation and the safeguarding of civil liberties.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Maintenance of Peace.—It is obvious that the most important of all policies for progressives is the creation of a permanently peaceful world. For this it is necessary that there should exist a world organization which has this as its chief aim, an organization in which the United States must play its full part. Such an organization should grow logically out of the United Nations, beginning with the present four chief members, the United States, Great Britain, Russia and China. Progressives should realize that the only sort of government which can participate effectively in preventing war is one broadly representative of the legitimate interests of all its people, and not of special classes or groups. Imperialism, whether political or economic, is hostile to the conception of a society of peaceful and prosperous nations, living harmoniously. Also incompatible is the exploitation of colonies in the interest of the colonial powers.

The Danger of Monopoly.—National monopoly, used for control of foreign markets or of raw materials that are limited in quantity, such as oil, coal and metals, creates a continuing danger of war. Business monopolies, whether national or international, tend to keep down the standard of living through high prices, to discourage technological advance and, by creating excessive pools of profit, to throw the economic system out of gear. The positive goal should be a steadily expanding economy on a worldwide basis. It should be the general policy of the United Nations, therefore, to bring up the standard of living as rapidly as possible in all the nations of the world, not on any basis of mere philanthropy, but because poverty in any part of the world handicaps prosperity elsewhere. Thus it is to the interest of all nations to see that the highest possible labor standards are maintained throughout the world. In general, the American government and the American people should collaborate with and encourage the democratic elements in all other countries for the furtherance of economic and political democracy.

International economic agencies to promote an expanding economy are perhaps even more basic than political settlements. We shall probably need an inter-

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national investment bank, a world trade board, a world food agency and others.

Aid for Post-War Reconstruction.—The end of the war will find many millions of victims, especially in the countries of Europe which were occupied by the Germans, in great need of temporary assistance to reconstitute their shattered economic organization, and to keep themselves fed and clothed while doing so. It is desirable that UNRRA and affiliated organizations should face up to this problem in its entirety, and should take all possible steps to see that the organization of each of these countries becomes a going concern again at the earliest moment.

Domestic Affairs

A Production Program for Peace.—At home, progressives should favor the highest standard of living in America that is compatible with our natural resources and the present stage of development of our technology. To this end, there should be a national production program for peace, just as there has been for war, based on full use of our productive facilities and full employment. In so far as private enterprise fails to fulfill this program, government should bridge the gap by appropriate means. One of the most important of these is a compensatory fiscal policy, based upon flexible adjustment among taxation, borrowing and government expenditure, for the purpose of maintaining the essential flow of purchasing power. Properly used, government fiscal and construction programs can offset the wilder swings of the business cycle and help to maintain a permanent condition of high employment and prosperity.

Disposal of War Plants.—During the war, and for war purposes, the United States Government has provided all or the greater part of the funds for new factories of all types, costing many billions of dollars. The Baruch-Hancock Report proposes that we sell off these factories as rapidly as possible to private investors, with no guarantees as to what shall then be done with them. American progressives should urge that in so far as it is necessary in order to maintain full production of the goods that are needed in peace, plants should be kept in operation by public enterprise. Progressives should also recommend that in monopolized or highly concentrated industries, a substantial part of all these plants should be retained by the government and operated as yardstick enterprises, both for the information thus made available regarding costs and prices, and to encourage technological advance.

Postwar Dangers.—With the close of the war, there is danger of an extremely serious inflation; it will be recalled that the worst inflation of the First World War took place after the Armistice. To fight this danger and to prevent chaos, all the present controls over prices, rents, priorities, allocations and other economic activities, which are in the public interest, should be continued as long as demand exceeds supply and such measures are therefore necessary to obtain a fair distribution of goods and an orderly transition to a peace economy.

A Program for Agriculture.—No nation can be prosperous unless its farmers get a fair return for their labor and for the value of their investment. We believe it is imperative that the family-type farm should be retained in the United States and that disparities in income should be removed so that there is no discrimination against the farmer as compared with the rest of the population. Many hundreds of thousands of farmers now living in great poverty should be brought up to a decent minimum level. Primarily this is to be done by increased consumption of farm products, at home and abroad; by a higher general nutritional level, with greater emphasis on production of most nourishing foods; and increased use of farm products in manufacture. Farm coöperatives should be protected against their present enemies and should be expanded. Money should be available for farm loans at reasonable rates of interest. To avoid disastrous land speculation, we advocate heavy capital-gains taxes on the profits made on the purchase and resale of land between the present and a reasonable period after the end of the war. The federal government should continue to protect farmers against drastic price deflation, while at the same time protecting the whole population, including the farmers, against the evils of inflation. We recommend the principles of the ever normal granary, insurance against losses through disasters such as drought or flood, and government aid in providing adequate terminal, elevator and other marketing facilities. Freight rates should not discriminate against agricultural sections as is now the case in many instances.

The sons and daughters of the farm population, like those of all other elements, should have the maximum degree of education that is socially useful in each case. We ask government aid to the extent necessary to see that poverty is in no case a bar to the amount of education appropriate to every individual.

For More TVA's.—Recognizing the Tennessee Valley Authority as one of the great triumphs of modern engineering and as a demonstration of efficient and constructive governmental activity, American progressives should urge regional developmental authorities in other parts of the United States to carry out the program of maintaining full employment, decentralizing industry and ending economic colonialism within this country.

For Greater Social Security.—In the field of social security, progressives should favor widening and deepening the present program until every American citizen has substantial protection against the hazards of illness, accident, unemployment, and poverty in old age. The existing machinery for promoting the people's health

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should be revised and extended as far as is necessary to diminish to the smallest possible limits the present burden of illness and accident, to make sure that every individual, whatever his economic status, has access to competent medical care, and to improve the quality of such care, through stimulating the progress of medicine and the wide application of the best known methods.

An End to Discrimination. – Just as progressives believe that discrimination, whether social, cultural or economic, because of race or sex, should be abolished abroad, so they urge that America should set her own house in order. We favor the principle of equal pay for equal work. We urge the most vigilant activity, official and unofficial, to fight race prejudice and all other types of discrimination.

Labor Relations. – In the field of industrial relations, we recommend the retention and vigorous enforcement of the Wagner National Labor Relations Act and other safeguards for the maintenance of the full and free right of collective bargaining. We endorse the principle of the annual wage. We believe that any controls by government over industrial operations should be exercised by agencies on which labor, management and the consumer have equal representation.

Free Enterprise. – We favor "free enterprise" at every point in our economic system where experience proves that it is able to function with maximum efficiency in the interest of the people as a whole. We call upon those vociferous advocates of free enterprise who are now engaged in a concerted campaign in its behalf to say whether they mean by free enterprise the absence of monopoly and unfair government subsidy in peacetime or whether in fact they want free enterprise only for themselves, accompanied by the power to restrain competition and exploit workers and consumers. We favor vigorous and effective governmental action to restore and extend free enterprise by bringing domestic monopolies and international cartels under control in the public interest.

For War Veterans. – With the end of the war, we ask that demobilization be carefully planned and carried out to provide the minimum economic dislocation that is possible under the circumstances. Regarding demobilized war veterans, every effort should be made to restore them to the economic system under circumstances as good as, or better than, they enjoyed before entering the armed services. We favor an extension of free public education, with the needs of war veterans particularly in mind. We emphasize, however, that the best guarantee of a prosperous and happy life for the veterans is to be found in a prosperous society as a whole, with a high level of productivity and employment.

For Competent Governmental Research. – The number, size and complexity of the problems with which the American government now has to deal make it strongly desirable that the executive and legislative branches should have the aid of more and better research talent than is at present available. The committees of Congress should be urged to appropriate larger sums of money than at present for retaining competent research workers, and should pay correspondingly increased attention to the results of this research. Serious consideration should also be given to setting up an impartial fact-finding organization for the joint use of the executive and legislative branches, so that outstanding problems could be referred to it and the findings then used by either branch, or both. Such an agency should help to prevent the disgraceful misuse of congressional investigating committees at present by reactionaries seeking to injure their political opponents by star-chamber methods and by libelous attacks under congressional immunity from libel.

Civil Liberties. – American progressives believe that the utmost vigilance is required for the maintenance and extension of our civil liberties. They note with alarm the increasing tendency for media for expression such as the press, radio and movies, to fall under the control of large units of capitalistic enterprise, which tend to limit or prohibit the expression of views contrary to their own. Progressives are also disturbed to see an increasing tendency on the part of some elements of Congress to bring indirect pressure to bear upon private citizens expressing views hostile to those of these members of Congress. The progressives urge incessant watchfulness in this field, recalling that the earliest act of the fascists, wherever they come to power, is to suppress all public expression of opinions hostile to their own.

Believing that the only safe foundation for democracy is the widest possible expansion of the franchise, progressives disapprove of the institution of the poll tax, which in practice frequently means that only four or five percent of the voters have their wishes recorded at the ballot box. We urge Congress to reconsider immediately its refusal to aid soldiers to vote, and to pass a real measure for a federal ballot, so that we shall not make a mockery of the democratic process for the youth of the nation whom we are asking to risk death in its defense.

Political and Economic Democracy Are Compatible. – American progressives deny that political and economic democracy are incompatible with each other, or that the nations must make a choice between security and freedom. We insist on the contrary that either of these types of democracy is meaningless without the other and that true freedom is only possible where security exists. It is for this reason, among others, that we urge attention to the problem of increasing our standard of living to the level made possible by our material wealth and productive equipment.

We ask that this country keep faith with the millions of its sons who are risking their lives in a war which can and should bring about a better world.

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The Record of The House[1]

	I Foreign Affairs			II Social Legislation and Agriculture				III Taxes and Inflation Control						IV Labor		V Civil Liberties		
	Reciprocal Trade Agreement	Fulbright Resolution	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation	Liquidating HOLC	Limiting Policy Makers on Price Orders	More Money for Soil Conservation	No More Money for Rural Electrification	Opposing $67,200 Limit on Salaries	No Incentive Payments on Certain Crops	Bates Motion to Recommit Disney Resolution	Sustaining Veto Subsidy Bill	Conference Report on Tax Bill	Overriding Veto Tax Bill	Amendment to Keep Labor Out of Politics	Overriding Veto Smith-Connally Bill	Continuing Dies Committee	Anti-Poll Tax Bill	Soldiers' Vote Bill
	5/13/43	9/21/43	1/25/44	2/17/43	6/18/43	6/22/43	6/23/43	3/12/43	6/22/43	12/13/43	2/18/44	2/ 7/44	2/24/44	6/ 4/43	6/25/43	2/10/43	5/25/43	2/ 3/44
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
ALABAMA																		
(D) Andrews 2																		
(D) Boykin	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	−	+	0	0	−	−	−	−	0	−	−
(D) Grant	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Hobbs	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Jarman	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0
(D) Manasco	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	0	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Newsome	+	+	+	+	−	−	0	0	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Sparkman	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Starnes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	−
ARIZONA																		
(D) Harless	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
(D) Murdock	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	0	+	+
ARKANSAS																		
(D) Cravens	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Fulbright	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	0	−	−	+	−	+
(D) Gathings	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Harris	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Hays	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
(D) Mills	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Norrell	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
CALIFORNIA																		
(D) Costello	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	−	+	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	+
(D) Elliott	−	0	+	+	−	0	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−
(D) Engle 3			+									+	+					+
(D) Ford	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+
(D) Holifield	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Izac	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+
(D) King	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+
(D) Lea	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	0	−	0	−	−	−	−	0	+
(D) Outland	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Rogers	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Sheppard	+	+	+	+	−	0	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	0	−	0	+
(D) Tolan	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	−	0	−	+	0	+	0	0	−	+	+
(D) Voorhis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Anderson	+	+	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) Carter	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	+	0	−	0	+	−	+	−
(R) Gearhart	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	0	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Hinshaw	+	+	+	0	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	0	−
(R) Johnson, J. L.	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	0	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Johnson, W.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Phillips	+	+	−	−	0	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Poulson	+	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Rolph	+	+	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Welch	+	+	+	0	0	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	0	+	−	0	+
COLORADO																		
(R) Chenoweth	+	0	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Gillespie 4																		
(R) Hill	+	0	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Rockwell	+	0	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
CONNECTICUT																		
(R) Compton	+	+	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	0	0	−	+	+
(R) Luce	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	0	0	−	+	+	+	+	0
(R) McWilliams	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	+	−
(R) Miller	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Monkiewicz	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Talbot	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−
DELAWARE																		
(R) Willey	0	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
FLORIDA																		
(D) Cannon	−	+	+	+	0	0	0	−	0	−	+	0	0	0	0	−	−	+
(D) Green	−	0	+	0	0	0	0	−	0	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+
(D) Hendricks	−	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	0	−	−	−	+
(D) Peterson	−	0	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	0	−	−	−	+
(D) Price	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Sikes	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	0	−	0	−	+
GEORGIA																		
(D) Brown	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Cox	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	0
(D) Gibson	0	+	−	+	+	+	+	0	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Pace	+	+	−	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Peterson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−
(D) Ramspeck	+	+	0	+	+	+	−	0	+	+	+	−	0	+	−	−	−	−
(D) Tarver	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	0	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Vinson	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Whelchel	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	0	−	−	0	−	−	−	−
IDAHO																		
(D) White	0	0	−	+	+	+	+	+	0	−	+	0	−	+	+	+	0	−
(R) Dworshak	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
ILLINOIS																		
(D) Dawson	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	0	+	0	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Gordon	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Gorski	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) O'Brien	+	+	+	0	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Rowan	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	−	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Sabath	+	+	+	+	0	+	−	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+
(Vacancy)																		
(R) Allen	+	+	+	−	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Arends	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Bishop	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Busbey	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Chiperfield	+	+	0	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Church	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Day	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Dewey	+	+	+	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Dirksen	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Heidinger	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	0	0	−	+	−
(R) Howell	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Johnson, A.	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Johnson, C.	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	+	−
(R) Mason	−	+	−	0	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
(R) Reed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
(R) Simpson	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Sumner	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Vursell	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	+	−
(Vacancy)																		
INDIANA																		
(D) Ludlow	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
(D) Madden	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[1] The symbol + indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol − indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced, *against* are tabulated −; those *for*, or announced for, +. Those paired generally or absent are tabulated 0. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of Congress.

[2] Seated March 20, 1944.
[3] Elected August 31, 1943.
[4] Elected March 7, 1944.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	I Foreign Affairs			II Social Legislation and Agriculture				III Taxes and Inflation Control						IV Labor		V Civil Liberties		
	Reciprocal Trade Agreement	Fulbright Resolution	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation	Liquidating HOLC	Limiting Policy Makers on Price Orders	More Money for Soil Conservation	No More Money for Rural Electrification	Opposing $67,200 Limit on Salaries	No Incentive Payments on Certain Crops	Bates Motion to Recommit Disney Resolution	Sustaining Veto Subsidy Bill	Conference Report on Tax Bill	Overriding Veto Tax Bill	Amendment to Keep Labor Out of Politics	Overriding Veto Smith-Connally Bill	Continuing Dies Committee	Anti-Poll Tax Bill	Soldiers' Vote Bill
	5/13/43	9/21/43	1/25/44	2/17/43	6/18/43	6/22/43	6/23/43	3/12/43	6/22/43	12/13/43	2/18/44	2/ 7/44	2/24/44	6/ 4/43	6/25/43	2/10/43	5/25/43	2/ 3/44
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
(R) Gillie	+	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Grant	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Halleck	+	+	0	−	−	0	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Harness	+	+	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Johnson	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	0	0	−	+	−
(R) La Follette	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+
(R) Landis	+	+	+	0	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Springer	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Wilson	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−
IOWA																		
(R) Cunningham	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Gilchrist	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Gwynne	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Hoeven	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Jensen	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) LeCompte	+	+	+	−	0	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−
(R) Martin	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−
(R) Talle	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
KANSAS																		
(R) Carlson	+	+	−	−	−	0	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Hope	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Lambertson	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Rees	+	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Scrivner 1			−							−	−	−	−					−
(R) Winter	+	0	0	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	+	−
KENTUCKY																		
(D) Bates	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
(D) Chapman	+	+	0	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Gregory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) May	+	+	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) O'Neal	+	+	+	+	+	−	0	+	+	0	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
(D) Spence	+	0	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Vincent	+	+	+	−	+	+	0	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Carrier 2			−							−	−	−	−					−
(R) Robsion	−	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−	0	−	−	−	+	−	+	−
LOUISIANA																		
(D) Allen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Brooks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Domengeaux 3	−	+	+	−	0	+	+	−	+	0	0	0	−	−	−	0	−	−
(D) Hebert	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	−	+	0	+	0	−	−	0	0	−	0
(D) Larcade	−	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−
(D) McKenzie	+	0	0	0	−	+	+	+	0	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Maloney	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	0	−	−	−	0	−	−
(D) Morrison	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	0	+	−	+	0	+	−	−	0	−	+
MAINE																		
(R) Fellows	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Hale	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−
(R) Smith	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
MARYLAND																		
(D) Baldwin	+	+	+	−	0	−	−	−	0	+	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	+
(D) D'Alesandro	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
(D) Sasscer	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	0	+	−	−	0	+	−	+	+
(D) Ward	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) Beall	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	0	−	+	−
(R) Ellison	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
MASSACHUSETTS																		
(D) Curley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	0	−	0	0	+	+	−	+	−
(D) Lane	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	−	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	−	+	+
(D) McCormack	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
(D) Philbin	+	+	+	+	−	+	0	−	0	−	+	−	0	+	0	−	+	+
(R) Bates	+	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	0	−	+	−
(R) Clason	0	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	0	+	−
(R) Gifford	0	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Goodwin	+	0	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Herter	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
(R) Holmes	+	+	0	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−	0	0	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Martin	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Rogers	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Treadway	+	+	0	0	−	−	0	−	−	−	0	−	−	0	−	0	0	−
(R) Wigglesworth	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
MICHIGAN																		
(D) Dingell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Lesinski	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) O'Brien	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Rabaut	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Sadowski	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Bennett	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Blackney	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−
(R) Bradley	+	−	−	−	0	0	0	0	0	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−
(R) Crawford	+	−	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−
(R) Dondero	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	+	−
(R) Engel	+	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	0	+	−
(R) Hoffman	−	−	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Jonkman	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Michener	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Shafer	0	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Wolcott	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Woodruff	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−
MINNESOTA																		
(R) Andersen	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	0	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Andresen	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Gale	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	0	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) Judd	+	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−
(R) Knutson	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Maas	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−
(R) O'Hara	−	0	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Pittenger	+	0	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(F-L) Hagen	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
MISSISSIPPI																		
(D) Abernethy	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Colmer	+	+	0	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0
(D) McGehee	+	+	−	−	0	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	0
(D) Rankin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Whitten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Whittington	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Winstead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
MISSOURI																		
(D) Bell	+	+	+	−	+	0	−	−	0	−	0	0	−	0	−	−	−	0
(D) Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
(D) Cochran	0	+	+	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	+	+	0	0	0	0	+
(D) Slaughter	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Zimmerman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) Arnold	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Bennett	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Cole	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Elmer	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	0	0	+	−
(R) Miller	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	0	−	+	−
(R) Ploeser	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Schwabe	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Short	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	+	−
MONTANA																		
(D) Mansfield	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) O'Connor	+	0	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NEBRASKA																		
(R) Buffett	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Curtis	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−
(R) Miller	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	0	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	0	−
(R) Stefan	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
NEVADA																		
(D) Sullivan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
NEW HAMPSHIRE																		
(R) Merrow	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Stearns	+	+	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	+	−	−	0	+

1 Elected September 14, 1943.
2 Elected November 30, 1943.
3 Resigned March 29, 1944, to join the armed forces.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	I Foreign Affairs			II Social Legislation and Agriculture				III Taxes and Inflation Control						IV Labor		V Civil Liberties		
	Reciprocal Trade Agreement	Fulbright Resolution	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation	Liquidating HOLC	Limiting Policy Makers on Price Orders	More Money for Soil Conservation	No More Money for Rural Electrification	Opposing $67,200 Limit on Salaries	No Incentive Payments on Certain Crops	Bates Motion to Recommit Disney Resolution	Sustaining Veto Subsidy Bill	Conference Report on Tax Bill	Overriding Veto Tax Bill	Amendment to Keep Labor Out of Politics	Overriding Veto Smith-Connally Bill	Continuing Dies Committee	Anti-Poll Tax Bill	Soldiers' Vote Bill
	5/13/43	9/21/43	1/25/44	2/17/43	6/18/43	6/22/43	6/23/43	3/12/43	6/22/43	12/13/43	2/18/44	2/ 7/44	2/24/44	6/ 4/43	6/25/43	2/10/43	5/25/43	2/ 3/44
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
NEW JERSEY																		
(D) Hart	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	−	+	+
(D) Norton	O	+	O	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+
(D) Wene	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	O	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
(R) Auchincloss	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
(R) Canfield	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
(R) Eaton	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Hartley	+	O	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) Kean	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	O	−	+	+	−	−
(R) McLean	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	−
(R) Powers	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
(R) Sundstrom	+	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Thomas	O	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Towe	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Wolverton	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
NEW MEXICO																		
(D) Anderson	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	O	−	+	−	−	+	
(D) Fernandez	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	O	+	O	−	+	−	−	+	+
NEW YORK																		
(D) Barry	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	−	O	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+
(D) Bloom	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Buckley	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+
(D) Burchill	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+
(D) Byrne	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	−	+	+	O	+	+	+
(D) Cappozzoli	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Celler	+	+	O	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
(Vacancy)																		
(D) Delaney	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+
(D) Dickstein	+	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Fay	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	−	+	+
(D) Fitzpatrick	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Heffernan	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	O	+	+
(D) Kennedy	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+
(D) Keogh	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+
(D) Klein	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Lynch	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Merritt	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(Vacancy)																		
(D) O'Toole	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+
(D) Pfeifer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	+	+	−	+	+
(D) Somers	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Torrens 1																		
(R) Andrews	+	+	+	O	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	+
(R) Baldwin	+	+	+	−	O	−	O	−	−	O	+	O	−	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Butler	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Cole	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	O	−	−	+	O
(R) Douglas	O	+	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	−	O	O	−	−	O
(R) Fish	+	+	+	−	O	O	−	−	O	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Fuller 2			+							−	−	O	−					−
(R) Gamble	+	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	+	O
(R) Hall, E. A.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) Hall, L. W.	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Hancock	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Kearney	+	+	+	−	O	O	O	−	O	−	+	+	−	−	O	O	+	−
(R) Kilburn	+	+	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−
(R) LeFevre	+	+	+	O	−	O	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−
(R) Mruk	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+
(R) O'Brien	+	+	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−
(R) Reed	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Stanley	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Taber	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Taylor	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	+	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Wadsworth	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	O	−	−	O	−	−	−
(ALP) Marcantonio	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA																		
(D) Barden	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	+	O	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Bonner	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+
(D) Bulwinkle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
(D) Burgin	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	O	+
(D) Clark	+	O	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
(D) Cooley	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Doughton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Durham	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	O	+
(D) Folger	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
(D) Kerr	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	O	−	O	−	+	−	−
(D) Morrison	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	−	−	+	−	O	+
(D) Weaver	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
NORTH DAKOTA																		
(R) Burdick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Lemke	−	−	−	O	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	O	+	−
OHIO																		
(D) Crosser	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+
(D) Feighan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Kirwan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+
(R) Bender	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+
(R) Bolton	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	+	+
(R) Brehm	−	−	+	−	−	O	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−
(R) Brown	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Carson	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Clevenger	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Elston	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Griffiths	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Hess	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Jeffrey	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−
(R) Jenkins	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Jones	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Lewis	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) McCowen	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−
(R) McGregor	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−
(R) Ramey	+	+	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Rowe	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−
(R) Smith	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−
(R) Vorys	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Weichel	−	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−
OKLAHOMA																		
(D) Boren	+	O	−	−	+	O	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Disney	+	+	−	−	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−
(D) Johnson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
(D) Monroney	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+
(D) Stewart	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	O	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Stigler 3																		
(D) Wickersham	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
(R) Rizley	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
OREGON																		
(R) Angell	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Ellsworth	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Mott	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Stockman	+	+	−	−	O	−	+	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	+	−
PENNSYLVANIA																		
(D) Bradley	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Eberharter	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	O	+	+	+
(D) Furlong	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Hoch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+
(D) Kelley	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Murphy	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+
(D) Myers	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Scanlon	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Sheridan	O	+	O	O	O	O	O	−	O	O	+	O	+	O	+	O	O	O
(D) Snyder	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+
(D) Walter	+	+	+	−	+	+	O	−	+	O	+	−	−	+	O	−	+	+
(D) Weiss	O	+	O	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Wright	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Brumbaugh			−							O	−	O	−					
(R) Fenton	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	O	−
(R) Gallagher	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	+	+	−	O	−
(R) Gavin	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Gerlach	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	+	−

1 Elected February 29, 1944.
2 Elected November 2, 1943.
3 Elected March 28, 1944.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

	I Foreign Affairs			II Social Legislation and Agriculture				III Taxes and Inflation Control						IV Labor		V Civil Liberties		
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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
(R) Gillette	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Graham	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Gross	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Kinzer	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Kunkel	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) McConnell 1												−						
(R) Miller	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Pracht	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	O	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Pratt 2											−		−					
(R) Rodgers	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Scott	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Simpson	−	+	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Tibbott	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Troutman	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Wolfenden	O	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
RHODE ISLAND																		
(D) Fogarty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Forand	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	O	+	+	+
SOUTH CAROLINA																		
(D) Bryson	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Fulmer	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	O	O	O	O	−	−	−	O
(D) Hare	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) McMillan	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Richards	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O
(D) Rivers	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−
SOUTH DAKOTA																		
(R) Case	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Mundt	+	+	+	−	−	O	O	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	+	−
TENNESSEE																		
(D) Cooper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Courtney	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+
(D) Davis	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Gore	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	O	+	+	+	−	−	−	O	+
(D) Kefauver	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
(D) McCord	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Murray	+	+	O	O	O	O	+	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Priest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+
(R) Jennings	O	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−
(R) Reece	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	−
TEXAS																		
(D) Beckworth	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Dies	O	+	+	−	O	O	O	−	O	O	+	−	−	O	−	−	O	−
(D) Fisher	+	+	+	−	O	+	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Gossett	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Johnson, Luther	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Johnson, Lyndon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Kilday	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Kleberg	+	+	O	−	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	+
(D) Lanham	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Mahon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+

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	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
(D) Mansfield	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	O	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Patman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Patton	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	O	−	−	−	+
(D) Poage	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Rayburn 3																		
(D) Russell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−
(D) Sumners	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Thomas	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	O	−	O	−	+
(D) Thomason	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	+	+
(D) West	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Worley	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	O	+
UTAH																		
(D) Granger	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	O	+
(D) Robinson	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	O	O	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
VERMONT																		
(R) Plumley	−	+	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	O	−
VIRGINIA																		
(D) Bland	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	O	+	+	−	−	−	O	−	+
(D) Burch	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Drewry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Flannagan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+
(D) Harris	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Robertson	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	+
(D) Satterfield	+	+	+	−	+	O	O	−	O	+	+	−	−	−	−	O	−	+
(D) Smith	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	O	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
(D) Woodrum	+	+	O	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	+
WASHINGTON																		
(D) Coffee	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Jackson	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Magnuson	O	+	O	+	+	O	O	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	+	+
(R) Holmes	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Horan	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Norman	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
WEST VIRGINIA																		
(D) Kee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Randolph	+	+	+	+	−	O	+	−	O	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(D) Smith	O	+	+	+	O	+	−	−	O	−	O	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Ellis	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Rohrbough	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Schiffler	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
WISCONSIN																		
(D) Dilweg	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) McMurray	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Wasielewski	+	O	+	+	−	−	O	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+
(R) Keefe	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Murray	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) O'Konski	O	−	−	−	−	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	−
(R) Smith	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(R) Stevenson	+	O	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	O	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	−
(P) Hull	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
(P) Sauthoff	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WYOMING																		
(R) Barrett	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−

1 Elected January 18, 1944.
2 Elected January 18, 1944.
3 Speaker of the House; does not vote, except in case of a tie.

A limited supply is on hand of the supplement "A Congress to Win the War," published May 18, 1942 (300,000 sold). It records the votes on twenty crucial foreign and domestic issues prior to those shown above, including Guam Naval Base, Conscription Act and Draft Extension, Lend-Lease, Smith Anti-Labor Bill and Public Works. Readers who have not preserved their copies and wish to have the record covering the whole period since 1939 may order from THE NEW REPUBLIC, 40 E. 49th St., New York 17. The price is 10c post-paid; 10 or more, 6c each.

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Analysis of House Votes

No. 1. Extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. – Described by Sumner Welles as the "acid test . . . as to whether the people of the United States have determined upon a policy of international coöperation for the future or whether they will once more turn back to that road of isolation which leads to inevitable disaster," this renewal resolution was bitterly fought both in the Ways and Means Committee and on the House floor. After most of the restrictive amendments were finally defeated, the House under popular pressure passed the bill on May 13, 1943, by the surprising vote of 342 to 65. Of the 65 die-hard tariff isolationists, 52 were Republicans. [1]

No. 2. Fulbright Resolution. – After widespread public pressure had been generated during the summer for specific congressional commitments on international collaboration with teeth (particularly in support of the famous B_2H_2 Senate resolution of Senators Ball, Burton, Hatch and Hill), the House finally passed the Fulbright Resolution on September 21, 1943, by a vote of 360 to 29. Representative Fulbright's one-sentence resolution registered the people's wish, but so mildly and innocuously that most House isolationists, including Ham Fish, felt able to go along with the majority. Three Democrats and 26 Republicans constituted the last-stand opposition.

No. 3. Appropriation of $1,350,000,000 for UNRRA. – After repeated efforts by pre-Pearl Harbor isolationist members to reduce the size of the appropriation, the House voted to allot one percent of the national income to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the size of the levy having been agreed upon for all participating countries by the council of UNRRA. The vote, on January 25, 1944, was 338 to 54. If the opinion of the 54 oppositionists (45 Republicans and 9 Democrats) had prevailed, it would have meant a stab in the back to the millions of Axis victims in the occupied countries and a major victory for Hitler.

No. 4. Liquidation of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation. – The HOLC, which took over about a million mortgages amounting to more than $3,000,000,000 and saved thousands of small homes and lending institutions during depression days, was the target of the Dirksen amendment to the independent offices' appropriation bill. The United States Building and Loan League crowd wanted to force the HOLC into liquidation. The Dirksen amendment to that end passed the House on February 17, 1943, by a vote of 224 to 159. Thirty-eight Democrats and 185 Republicans participated in the slaughter. The amendment, however, was stricken from the final bill passed by both houses.

No. 5. Limiting Policy Makers on Price Orders in the OPA. – By an amendment to the appropriations bill for war agencies, Representative Dirksen carried the majority of a House in full reactionary flight to limit all OPA personnel having to do with price-fixing to those with at least five years' continuous business experience. By this vote of 188 to 144 on June 18, 1943, the House in effect turned a large share of the war economy over to business interests and carried through a kind of legislative "burning of the books" aimed at all those whose training and intelligence equipped them to act in the people's interest. One hundred and sixty-two Republicans and 23 Democrats voted against the people.

No. 6. Appropriations for Soil-Conservation Payments Increased by $100,000,000. – The soil-conservation program has been one of the great efforts of the Roosevelt administration to maintain the natural agricultural resources of the country. On this motion to increase soil-conservation payments, the House reversed a previous vote and carried the bill on June 22, 1943, by a vote of 185 to 175, with 15 Democrats and 160 Republicans still holding out in opposition.

No. 7. Refusal to Appropriate $10,000,000 More for the Rural Electrification Program. – Constantly opposed by the big power interests, the Rural Electrification Program has brought great practical benefits to the small farmers in isolated communities. The expanded program in wartime was designed to compensate in part for the shortage of farm labor and to increase food production. However, the motion to increase funds for the REA from twenty to thirty million dollars was lost on June 23, 1943, by 167 to 193. Fifty-nine Democrats joined with 134 Republicans to defeat the measure.

No. 8. Lifting the $67,200 Salary Limit. – The limitation of salaries to $25,000 a year *after taxes* was one plank in the President's "indivisible" seven-point program to avoid inflation. President Roosevelt wrote to Chairman Doughton of the House Ways and Means Committee that if Congress would impose a supertax on excessive income from all sources, the executive order would be rescinded. The committee responded by attaching to a bill increasing the debt limit a rider which permitted salaries as high as those being paid the day of Pearl Harbor, December 7, 1941. The Rules Committee refused to order a separate roll call on this rider and on March 12, 1943, the bill containing the rider was approved by the House, 268 to 129. Eighty-one Democrats and 12 Republicans stood up against this move to permit "profits-as-usual" at a time when Captain Rickenbacker and others who regarded the $25,000 limitation as a threat to "private initiative" were furiously opposing overtime pay for war workers.

No. 9. No Incentive Payments to Farmers on Certain Crops. – The vote here listed was one of a long series in the battle between those who wanted to hold the line against inflation and increase food production, and those, led chiefly by the powerful farm bloc, who merely wanted higher farm prices, come hell, inflation or high water. The House, on June 22, 1943, by a vote of 166 to 177, refused to revise its support of the Cannon Amendment, approved the previous April. One hundred and sixty Republicans were joined by 17 Democrats in this pro-inflation vote.

[1] Votes for minor parties, such as the Progressive, American Labor and Farmer-Labor Parties, are omitted from these analyses.

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No. 10. Bates Motion to Recommit Disney Resolution. – As originally introduced, the Disney resolution was part of a general move to strip the OPA of most of its price-regulatory powers and divide them among the several war agencies which were more easily controllable by special business interests. Specifically, Disney proposed to take control of oil prices from the OPA and turn jurisdiction over to Secretary Ickes as Petroleum Administrator for War. The motion to recommit the resolution to the Banking and Currency Committee was lost on December 13, 1943, by 206 to 129, 138 Republicans and 67 Democrats joining to defeat it. Later Disney dropped the OPA-wrecking aspect of the bill because a presidential veto was assured, but the price of oil was nevertheless increased.

No. 11. Sustaining the President's Veto of the Anti-Subsidy Bill. – President Roosevelt stated the issues involved in the House anti-subsidy bill bluntly and eloquently in his veto message: "This bill . . . is an inflation measure, a high-cost-of-living measure, a food-shortage measure. . . .The weight of the increased burden will fall on all of us, but most of all on the unorganized workers, and others who live on small and relatively fixed incomes, among whom are most of the dependents of our fighting men."

Despite this clear statement of the issues, a majority of the House on February 18, 1943, by a vote of 226 to 151, voted to override the President's veto, but failed by 26 votes to amass the two-thirds required. One hundred and thirty Democrats and only 19 Republicans voted against inflation on this bill.

Nos. 12 and 13. The Tax Bill and Overriding Its Veto. – The taxation issue led to one of the sharpest clashes in recent history between Congress and the President, climaxed by the temporary resignation of Senator Barkley as Senate Majority Leader and then by the prompt overriding of the President's veto by both houses. During months of lengthy hearings and debates, the Treasury's proposals for a tax increase of $10,500,000,000 (attacked by Wendell Willkie as insufficient) were gradually whittled down. Finally, a bill was passed which, according to the President, actually provided an increase of less than $1,000,000,000. This Conference Report passed the House on February 7, 1944, by a vote of 237 to 101. Only 65 Democrats and 32 Republicans held out for a more all-out tax effort.

The President promptly termed the measure "not a tax bill, but a tax-relief bill providing relief not for the needy but for the greedy." After Barkley's dramatic speech and resignation in protest at what he considered an insult to Congress, the House overrode the veto, 299 to 95. The 95 stalwarts included 89 Democrats and 3 Republicans.

Nos. 14 and 15. The Anti-Labor Bills. – Despite labor's voluntary no-strike pledge, which has been 99.92-percent effective, the crucial stoppages by John L. Lewis' miners gave the congressional anti-labor forces their long awaited opportunity. The Smith-Connally bill was finally adopted, a bill whose provisions, the President accurately prophesied in his veto message, "far from discouraging strikes . . . would stimulate labor unrest and give government sanction to strike agitations." The actual motives of most of the supporters of the Smith-Connally bill, allegedly designed to prevent strikes, were exposed by the roll call on the Harness Amendment, which sought to make organized labor powerless politically by prohibiting labor contributions to political campaigns. This amendment passed, on June 4, 1943, by 238 to 135, with 142 Republicans and 96 Democrats supporting it.

The President's veto of the Smith-Connally bill was delivered to Congress without advance notice on June 25, 1943, on a Friday afternoon when most of the Eastern urban and pro-labor congressmen had left Washington for the week-end. Overridden by the Senate two minutes after the message was read, the veto suffered a similar fate in the House three hours later—by 244 to 108—with 67 Democrats and 37 Republicans upholding the President.

No. 16. Continuing the Dies Committee. – Martin Dies and his Committee on Un-American Activities have been praised by the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, George Sylvester Viereck, Fritz Kuhn and William Dudley Pelley. He has been mentioned for the presidency by Father Coughlin, whose activities he has persistently refused to investigate. Congress has since 1938 kept Dies in business by continued appropriations, which have been used almost exclusively to finance a reign of terror against New Dealers. The latest vote, on February 10, 1943, extended the committee's life to January 3, 1945, by a count of 302 to 94, with 13 Republicans and 78 Democrats dissenting. Dies's latest activity has been an "investigation" of the CIO Political Action Committee.

No. 17. The Anti-Poll-Tax Bill. – The anti-poll-tax bill, H. R. 7, which would enable 10,000,000 more American citizens to vote, was introduced on the opening day of the first session and was promptly buried in the Judiciary Committee (Hatton D. Sumners of poll-tax Texas, chairman), from which it ultimately emerged on May 25, after a discharge petition signed by 218 House members rescued it from oblivion. It was passed the same day, 265 to 110. House Democrats were split 92 for, 93 against, while 169 Republicans of 186 present voted for passage. For further clarification of the Republican attitude, see Senate Chart analysis, roll-call number 18.

No. 18. The Soldiers'-Vote Bill. – Two fears dominated congressional attitudes toward a federal ballot for soldiers. Republicans, as The New York Times stated, feared that most servicemen, if allowed to vote, would cast their ballots for FDR. Southern Democrats feared that a uniform federal ballot would help to undermine their "white supremacy" poll-tax set-up which disfranchises millions. For six months, in committee and on the floor, the federal-ballot bill was stalled and crippled with amendments, under a smokescreen of hypocritical talk about constitutionality and states' rights. The best test of House sentiment came on February 3, when a vote was taken on a motion to send the emasculated bill back to committee and report out the Worley federal-ballot bill, the House equivalent of the Green-Lucas bill. The motion was lost, 168 to 224. Eighteen Republicans and 147 Democrats insisted that those who were asked to die for democracy should be granted the right to vote for it.

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The Record of The Senate[1]

	I Foreign Affairs			II Social Legislation and Agriculture			III Taxes and Inflation Control				IV Labor			V Civil Liberties		
	O'Mahoney Amendment to Trade Agreements Act	Connally Resolution	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation	Money for NRPB	$100,000,000 for Soil Conservation	Continuing Loan Powers of FSA	Amendment to Hamstring TVA	No CCC Funds to Keep Prices Down	No Federal Funds for Price Roll Back	Maloney Amendment to CCC Bill	Ending Most Food Subsidies After June 30	Overriding Veto Tax Bill	Farm-Labor Deferment	Overriding Veto Smith-Connally Bill	Amendment on Co-op and Union Income Reports	Soldiers'-Vote Bill	Buck Amendment to Eliminate FEPC from Russell Bill	1942 Poll-Tax Cloture Vote 2
	6/ 1/43	11/ 5/43	2/17/44	5/27/43	6/ 8/43	6/10/43	3/24/44	6/26/43	7/ 6/43	2/ 9/44	2/11/44	2/25/44	3/17/43	6/25/43	1/18/44	2/ 8/44	3/24/44	11/23/42
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
ALABAMA																		
(D) Bankhead	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
(D) *Hill* 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
ARIZONA																		
(D) *Hayden*	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	O	−
(D) McFarland	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	O
ARKANSAS																		
(D) *Caraway*	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) McClellan	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	
CALIFORNIA																		
(R) Johnson	O	−	O	O	O	O	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	O	O	−	O	−
(D) *Downey*	+	+	O	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	−	+	+	+	+	+
COLORADO																		
(D) Johnson	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
(R) *Millikin*	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
CONNECTICUT																		
(D) Maloney	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
(R) *Danaher*	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	O	−	+	+	−	+	O	+	+	+	+
DELAWARE																		
(D) Tunnell	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) Buck	O	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
FLORIDA																		
(D) Andrews	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	O	−	−	−	O	−	−	+	−	−
(D) *Pepper*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	O	+
GEORGIA																		
(D) *George*	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Russell	+	+	O	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
IDAHO																		
(D) *Clark*	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	+	O	+	O	−
(R) Thomas	−	+	O	O	O	O	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	+	−

[1] The symbol + indicates, in the opinion of the editors, a progressive vote. The symbol — indicates an anti-progressive vote. Those paired, or announced, *against* are tabulated —; those *for*, or announced for, +. Those paired generally or absent are tabulated O. A blank indicates that the incumbent was not at that time a member of Congress.

2 Because of the importance of the poll-tax issue and because there has been no Senate roll call on it during the Seventy-eighth Congress, we have used this 1942 roll call on the question of cloture. A very recent poll of the Senate, on the question of cloture, taken by the Union for Democratic Action, shows the following changes:

Senators Lucas, Gillette and Langer have indicated they will vote for (+).
Senator Hatch has indicated he will vote against (−).

Among the new Senators, the answers received were as follows:
Senator Ball has indicated he will vote for (+).
Senator Jackson has indicated he is undecided (O).
Senator Walsh (N. J.) has asked to be listed "doubtful," although his letter said, "I am opposed to cloture on principle."

3 Names in italics mean that the terms of these Senators expire this year.

	I Foreign Affairs			II Social Legislation and Agriculture			III Taxes and Inflation Control				IV Labor			V Civil Liberties		
	O'Mahoney Amendment to Trade Agreements Act	Connally Resolution	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation	Money for NRPB	$100,000,000 for Soil Conservation	Continuing Loan Powers of FSA	Amendment to Hamstring TVA	No CCC Funds to Keep Prices Down	No Federal Funds for Price Roll Back	Maloney Amendment to CCC Bill	Ending Most Food Subsidies After June 30	Overriding Veto Tax Bill	Farm-Labor Deferment	Overriding Veto Smith-Connally Bill	Amendment on Co-op and Union Income Reports	Soldiers'-Vote Bill	Buck Amendment to Eliminate FEPC from Russell Bill	1942 Poll-Tax Cloture Vote 2
	6/ 1/43	11/ 5/43	2/17/44	5/27/43	6/ 8/43	6/10/43	3/24/44	6/26/43	7/ 6/43	2/ 9/44	2/11/44	2/25/44	3/17/43	6/25/43	1/18/44	2/ 8/44	3/24/44	11/23/42
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
ILLINOIS																		
(D) *Lucas* 2	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	O	+	+	+	−
(R) Brooks	−	+	O	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	O	−	+	+
INDIANA																		
(R) Willis	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(D) *Jackson* 2			+				+			+	+	−				+	+	
IOWA																		
(D) *Gillette* 2	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	O	O	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
(R) Wilson	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−		−	+	
KANSAS																		
(R) Capper	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+
(R) *Reed*	−	+	O	+	O	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
KENTUCKY																		
(D) *Barkley*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	O	+	+	+	+
(D) Chandler	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	O	−	O	+	−	−
LOUISIANA																		
(D) *Overton*	−	+	−	−	O	+	−	+	O	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Ellender	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	O	+	+	−	−
MAINE																		
(R) White	+	+	+	−	−	O	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−
(R) Brewster	−	+	+	O	O	+	−	−	O	−	O	−	+	−	−	−	+	+
MARYLAND																		
(D) *Tydings*	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−
(D) Radcliffe	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
MASSACHUSETTS																		
(D) Walsh	−	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
(R) *Weeks*			+				−					−					+	
MICHIGAN																		
(R) Vandenberg	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
(R) Ferguson	+	+	+	−	O	−	O	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	
MINNESOTA																		
(R) Shipstead	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−
(R) Ball 2	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	
MISSISSIPPI																		
(D) Bilbo	+	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) Eastland	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	
MISSOURI																		
(D) *Clark*	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+
(D) Truman	+	+	O	+	+	+	+	+	O	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	O	+
MONTANA																		
(D) Wheeler	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	+	+	−	O	−
(D) Murray	−	+	+	O	+	+	O	+	O	+	+	+	O	+	+	+	O	+
NEBRASKA																		
(R) Butler	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	O	−	−	−	+	+
(R) Wherry	−	+	−	O	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	
NEVADA																		
(D) *McCarran*	−	+	O	−	−	+	−	+	−	O	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
(D) Scrugham	−	+	O	O	+	+	O	+	−	O	O	−	−	+	O	+	O	

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	6/ 1/43	11/ 5/43	2/17/44	5/27/43	6/ 8/43	6/10/43	3/24/44	6/26/43	7/ 6/43	2/ 9/44	2/11/44	2/25/44	3/17/43	6/25/43	1/18/44	2/ 8/44	3/24/44	11/23/42
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
NEW HAMPSHIRE																		
(R) Bridges	0	+	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−	0	−	+	0
(R) *Tobey*	+	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	0	0	−	−	−	−	+	+	0	+
NEW JERSEY																		
(R) Hawkes	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	+	
(D) *Walsh* 1			+				−			+	+	−			−	+	+	
NEW MEXICO																		
(D) Hatch 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	−	+	−	0	+	0	0
(D) Chavez	−	+	0	−	+	+	0	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	0	−
NEW YORK																		
(D) *Wagner*	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Mead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NORTH CAROLINA																		
(D) Bailey	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	0	−	−	−	+	0	−	−	−	−
(D) *Reynolds*	0	−	−	0	0	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	0	0
NORTH DAKOTA																		
(R) *Nye*	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	0	−
(R) Langer 1	−	−	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
OHIO																		
(R) *Taft*	−	+	+	−	−	−	0	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	0	+
(R) Burton	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	+
OKLAHOMA																		
(D) *Thomas*	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	0	+
(R) Moore	−	+	−	−	+	−	0	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	
OREGON																		
(R) *Cordon*							0										0	
(R) *Holman*	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
PENNSYLVANIA																		
(D) Guffey	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(R) *Davis*	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
RHODE ISLAND																		
(D) Gerry	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−
(D) Green	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[1] See footnote (2) on previous page.

	I Foreign Affairs			II Social Legislation and Agriculture				III Taxes and Inflation Control					IV Labor			V Civil Liberties		
	O'Mahoney Amendment to Trade Agreements Act	Connally Resolution	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation	Money for NRPB	$100,000,000 for Soil Conservation	Continuing Loan Powers of FSA	Amendment to Hamstring TVA	No CCC Funds to Keep Prices Down	No Federal Funds for Price Roll Back	Maloney Amendment to CCC Bill	Ending Most Food Subsidies After June 30	Overriding Veto Tax Bill	Farm-Labor Deferment	Overriding Veto Smith-Connally Bill	Amendment on Co-op and Union Income Reports	Soldiers'-Vote Bill	Buck Amendment to Eliminate FEPC from Russell Bill	1942 Poll-Tax Cloture Vote
	6/ 1/43	11/ 5/43	2/17/44	5/27/43	6/ 8/43	6/10/43	3/24/44	6/26/43	7/ 6/43	2/ 9/44	2/11/44	2/25/44	3/17/43	6/25/43	1/18/44	2/ 8/44	3/24/44	11/23/42
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
SOUTH CAROLINA																		
(D) *Smith*	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−
(D) Maybank	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	0	−	−	+	−	−
SOUTH DAKOTA																		
(R) *Gurney*	+	+	+	−	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	0	0
(R) Bushfield	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	
TENNESSEE																		
(D) McKellar	+	+	0	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−
(D) Stewart	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	−	−	0	−	−	−	+	−	−
TEXAS																		
(D) Connally	+	+	+	0	+	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
(D) O'Daniel	−	+	−	−	+	+	0	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	0	−
UTAH																		
(D) *Thomas*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
(D) Murdock	0	+	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+
VERMONT																		
(R) Austin	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	+	−
(R) *Aiken*	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
VIRGINIA																		
(D) Glass	+	+	+	0	−	0	0	+	0	0	0	+	0	−	0	+	0	−
(D) Byrd	+	+	0	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
WASHINGTON																		
(D) *Bone*	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	0	+
(D) Wallgren	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	0	+	+	0	+	+	+	0	+
WEST VIRGINIA																		
(D) Kilgore	0	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	+
(R) Revercomb	−	+	0	−	−	−	−	0	−	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	0	
WISCONSIN																		
(P) La Follette	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
(R) *Wiley*	+	+	+	−	0	+	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+
WYOMING																		
(D) O'Mahoney	−	+	+	0	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	0	+	+	−
(R) Robertson	−	+	0	−	0	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	

No. 1. O'Mahoney Amendment to Trade Agreements Act. – See House analysis No. 1. The O'Mahoney amendment was one of a series intended to impair the effectiveness of the act by whittling down executive authority. It was rejected June 1, 1943, by 50 to 31. Twelve Democrats joined 18 Republicans in seeking its passage.[2]

No. 2. Connally Resolution. – The Connally resolution as finally revised to include Article 4 of the Moscow Declaration, providing that there be established "at the earliest practicable date a general international organization," was passed November 5, 1943, by 85 to 5. This commitment to world order was so hedged about with references to constitutional processes and national sovereignty that even Senator Nye felt he could safely vote for it. Senators Reynolds, Wheeler, Johnson (Cal.), Langer and Shipstead voted to repeat the mistakes of "last time."

No. 3. United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation. – See House analysis No. 3. Vote in Senate, on February 17, 1944, was 47 to 14 for the UNRRA appropriation. Seven Democrats and seven Republicans voted Nay.

No. 4. Money for the National Resources Planning Board. – This will probably stand as the most fateful vote

[2] Minor-party votes are not included in the party analyses.

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Three Strikes and We're Out!

The United States, in winning its two biggest wars, has lost the peace each time. Political rivalries, or personal animosities in Congress, unchecked by public understanding of the issues, have twice robbed our country of a victory painfully won.

In the Civil War, the wise and patient Lincoln had a plan for peace. The leaders of his party disagreed. They wanted a peace placing themselves in political control of the South. Lincoln was assassinated—Johnson, who attempted to carry out his plans, was over-ridden by Congress. Thoughtful leaders then warned of the consequences—but the warnings were too little, and too late. In pushing too far for political control the party then in power provoked the opposite reaction—the Ku Klux Klan, the one party system in the South, the fear-ridden "White Supremacy" issue remain to plague us still.

Our World War I experience has many deadly parallels. Again a President, with a vision of good for his country as a whole, was over-ridden by his Congress—which saw things more narrowly. Again many leaders in both parties warned eloquently and correctly of the danger. Once more their voices were too little—and too late.

Our third trial is now upon us. To berate Congress is no answer. Congress is at once the bulwark of our democracy and the mirror of our own failures. In miniature it *is* the people. If we are preoccupied with the demands of special interests—either political, economic, or sectional, so also will Congress be. This time the people must *know* the importance of, and know how to demand, the essentials for enduring peace, for decent respect of the rights of individuals—and for a mechanism for world order, with power to enforce its regulations.

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of the Seventy-eighth Congress. The House, ducking a roll-call vote, failed to provide money for the NRPB, which had submitted to Congress a program to guarantee full production and employment in peacetime. The Senate voted enough to keep the NRPB breathing but useless, after it had rejected the McKellar amendment to provide more adequate funds. The House, again ducking a roll call, rejected the Senate proposal, and a conference committee of both houses killed the Board. On May 27, 1943, the McKellar amendment was beaten, 31 to 43, with 26 Republicans and 17 Democrats ganging up for the kill.

No. 5. $100,000,000 for Soil Conservation. – See House analysis No. 6. The Senate passed the measure, June 8, 1943, by a vote of 49 to 20, with 12 Republicans and 8 Democrats in opposition.

No. 6. Continuing Loan Powers of the FSA. – This was a vote on the Byrd amendment to strip the Farm Security Administration of power to make loans to small farmers, who have accounted for the greatest proportional wartime increase in food production. The amendment was defeated on June 10, 1943, by 25 to 53. Sixteen Republicans and 9 Democrats composed the anti-FSA bloc.

No. 7. Amendment to Hamstring the TVA. – Senator McKellar, in his personal feud with David E. Lilienthal, chairman of the TVA, succeeded, on March 24, 1944, in winning Senate approval of an amendment to the independent offices appropriation bill which would force the TVA to come to Congress for operating expenses, by depriving it of its revolving fund. If the House concurs, that centralization of power in Washington which so many congressmen profess to deplore will be increased. Although a government agency, the TVA, using its own funds derived from the sale of power, operates on a decentralized, semi-autonomous yardstick basis. The vote on McKellar's amendment was 39 to 26, with 10 Republicans and 15 Democrats upholding the TVA.

Nos. 8, 9, 10 and 11. Subsidies and Price Control. – On June 26, the Senate amended the CCC bill to prohibit use of its funds to "roll back" prices by paying subsidies to marginal producers and processors. The vote was 39 to 37, with 32 Democrats and 4 Republicans for "holding the line." After the President had vetoed the CCC bill containing the subsidy ban, and the House had sustained the veto, it sent to the Senate a bill extending the life of the CCC. An amendment by Senator Tydings, passed on July 6, 1943, by 36 to 28, with 19 Democrats and 8 Republicans opposed, put back into the bill the very ban which had caused the veto. The Senate reversed itself two days later. Obstruction continued in 1944. The Maloney amendment to the bill extending the life of the CCC would have provided food subsidies to stabilize living costs. But it was defeated, 49 to 26, on February 9, 1944, with only 24 Democrats and 2 Republicans supporting it. On February 11, the bill extending the life of the CCC was passed, 43 to 28, with the provision that CCC funds could not be used for subsidies after June 30. Twenty-five Democrats and three Republicans opposed this anti-subsidy bill.

No. 12. Overriding the Tax Bill Veto. – See House analysis No. 13. On February 25, 1944, the veto was overridden, 72 to 14, with 13 Democrats and one Republican supporting the President.

No. 13. Bankhead Bill to Defer Farm Labor. – This bill required the deferment of all draft registrants who held or could obtain "substantially full-time" jobs in agriculture. Supported by the farm bloc, representing the big farmers, and particularly by the cotton bloc, the bill made no distinctions as to essential and nonessential farm workers. Thus it made cheap farm labor available even for cotton, of which there was already considerable overproduction. It was passed on March 17, 1943, by 50 to 24, with only 9 Republicans and 15 Democrats holding out against it.

No. 14. Overriding the Veto on the Smith-Connally Bill. – See House analysis No. 15. The Senate vote, on June 25, 1943, was 56 to 25, with 19 Democrats and 5 Republicans defending labor.

No. 15. Clark Amendment on Coöperatives' and Labor Unions' Income-Tax Reports. – This amendment would have stricken from the tax bill the requirement that labor unions and coöperatives file income-tax reports. It was clear that the reports were wanted this year in order to tax next year. Some congressmen were gunning for labor unions, others for the rapidly expanding coöperatives. The amendment was defeated on January 18, 1944, 34 to 43, with 26 Democrats and 7 Republicans voting Yea.

No. 16. The Soldiers'-Vote Bill. – See House analysis No. 18. On February 8, 1944, the Senate attached a war ballot provision to the Eastland-Rankin states'-rights bill, 46 to 40. Thirty-five Democrats and 10 Republicans supported the GI vote.

No. 17. Buck Amendment to Eliminate the FEPC from Russell Bill. – The most constructive gesture made to Negro Americans during this war was the creation by Executive Order of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, which was one of the chief targets of the Russell bill limiting all executive-created agencies to one year's duration. Senator Buck's amendment to save the FEPC was originally passed, on March 24, 1944, by a vote of 36 to 22, the opposition including 20 Democrats (15 of them from the South) and 2 Republicans. Later the same day, the Buck Amendment was reconsidered and defeated.

No. 18. 1942 Poll-Tax Cloture Vote. – There are enough anti-poll-tax votes in the Senate now to assure passage of H.R. 7, but it takes a two-thirds vote to stop the filibusters of the poll-tax Southerners. Many Northern Republicans have in the past played both sides of the street by professing their opposition to the poll tax and then voting against cloture on the grounds of freedom of speech. In the vote of November 23, 1942, 21 Democrats and 14 Republicans voted for cloture, but lost, by 37 to 41.

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The Unholy Alliance

THE VOTING CHARTS in this special section give you the score on your Senators and Representatives and tell you which side they are on. These charts reveal the fact that only 24 Senators and only 103 Representatives voted on the side of progressivism in as many as twelve of the eighteen roll calls recorded. Of those who were a part of the progressive bloc on two-thirds of the issues in the charts in the House, 98 were Democrats, 2 were Republicans, 2 Progressives, and one American Labor Party. In the Senate, 22 were Democrats, one was a Republican and one was a Progressive.

Many of the most important and most alarming facts about the present Congress, to a patriotic American and believer in democracy, are things that cannot be recorded in charts such as these. There is for example the growing habit of dodging a roll call, sometimes on important questions. Many times, members of Congress will vote for or against a measure by a voice vote when they would not dare to go home and face their constituents with the printed record.

No one can understand Congress who does not realize the tremendous power of the committees, which have almost life-and-death control over legislation. The poll tax in the Southern states has worked against the interests of the American people as a whole. In both Senate and House, men are elected committee chairmen on a basis of seniority, and seniority is higher in the poll-tax South than anywhere else in the country. One reason is that with only four or five percent of the electorate going to the polls, the party machines (which have been charged with paying the poll taxes of their members) keep an iron grip and send the same men back year after year. Another reason is that the South always goes Democratic, even in years of a Republican landslide, so that a Southerner, once elected, has a life job provided he coöperates with the machine.

Today more than ever before in recent years, progressives are opposed by a coalition of conservatives in both the Republican and Democratic Parties—what Senator Joseph Guffey accurately called the Unholy Alliance. The Democratic members of this group are almost entirely from the poll-tax South. This alliance cares little about party lines, if it can only win for reaction. In the Democratic Party it prefers Byrd to Roosevelt; in the Republican Party, Dewey or Bricker to Willkie. It would like to win the election; but even more, it is concerned to maintain its present dominance in the House and Senate—a dominance which has already destroyed a good part of the New Deal and threatens the rest.

For years, conservative Southern Democrats have been furtively dealing, under the counter, with conservative Republicans; but within the past two years, they have been open about it. Today, the two groups make concessions to each other with the most graceful flourishes. What would the average unsophisticated Georgia voter think of Gene Cox's cooing flattery of a "damyankee" Republican (Dirksen)?

> Mr. Cox: People who love art always delight in listening to the distinguished gentleman from Illinois, whose speech is art in its finest form. . . . May I add a word to what I have already said, that Paderewski never played upon the piano with greater skill than this gentleman from Illinois plays upon the heartstrings and the imagination of the people who hear him.

Representative Clare Hoffman, a Republican member of the Unholy Alliance from Michigan, was even franker:

> If we on this side will just avoid giving them offense, welcome their aid, and assist them with their problems, we shall find our task much easier.

The Unholy Alliance has operated like clockwork to defeat the administration on a number of important progressive bills. One of these was the federal ballot for soldiers. Another was the tax bill. Another has been the struggle to cripple the TVA by making it come to Congress for every petty expenditure. The Unholy Alliance has worked particularly well in some of the witch-hunting committees of both Houses, like the Smith, Dies, Kerr and Cox Committees in the House and the joint Byrd-Dirksen Committee.

This Unholy Alliance has little hope that Mr. Roosevelt will decline to run and that they can put up Senator Byrd, and still less hope of winning with him if they did. Their real ambitions center around Dewey, although even he is too reasonable and too "internationalist," believe it or not, for some of the worst reactionaries. On the Dewey bandwagon are such people as former President Hoover, Frank Gannett and his fantastically reactionary Committee for Constitutional Government, the powerful, ultra-conservative Pew of Pennsylvania, and the duPonts.

Every reader of this section should assume this is a personal message directed to him. If you want to unseat the Unholy Alliance and fight the rising tide of reaction, you must both learn to understand what is happening, and go to the polls and vote. Our charts are a useful guide to the records of those men already in Congress who are running for reëlection; but knowing the facts about them is not of the slightest value unless you put the facts to use on election day.

Party labels are not enough to guide voters today. More fundamental tests must be applied. Of the man who is seeking reëlection you must ask: "Did he put property or people first, in his votes in Congress?" To all men of both parties "who squint at the future with their faces toward the past, and who feel no responsibility to the demands of the new time," let your votes say that they are out of step with our nation and our future.

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